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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY 1938

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE ARTS OF NEPAL

By PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A.

(Secretary and Curator Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.)

It is a great pleasure to me to preface my short account of the 'Arts of Nepal' with an acknowledgment of the decided debt I owe to the Nepalese administration for the facilities given to me some years ago to study the artistic productions of the country under the most ideal conditions. My wife and I were the guests of the late Colonel Manners Smith, V.C., an old friend, who was the then British Resident at Katmandu, and I must add that not only he, but every official, as well as every person with whom I came into contact, made it their sincere pleasure to aid me in investigating the wonderful art treasures of the country.

Such a friendly and helpful attitude is, of course, indicative of those cordial relations which, on a much larger scale, and in the sphere of politics, have marked the whole course of the British Government's associations with the Nepal Durbar. As is well known, on all occasions Nepal has been most assiduous in maintaining a beneficial intercourse with the Empire, and has always been one of the first to offer its services in those times of emergency which have interrupted the peace of the world within recent years. To refer to one outstanding instance, during the Great War the whole resources of the country were unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Allies, and none could do more than that. Some ten thousand men of the Nepalese army served in India and on the frontier, distinguishing themselves in every duty that they were called on to perform. Then, exclusive of H.H. the Maharaja's numerous personal subscriptions towards the support of military

hospitals and the provision of charitable funds, nearly a million pounds sterling was contributed by the Nepalese Government, besides huge supplies of such commodities as blankets, timber, tea, etc. As a consequence of the implicit confidence that the British Government placed in the administration, by the Treaty of 1923 Nepal was recognized as a completely independent kingdom.

To this brief reference dealing with the larger policy of the administration may be added the relatively small but equally appreciated social factor, for, owing to the great kindness of H E the Nepalese Minister, we are able this afternoon to enjoy his hospitality and to meet in these spacious apartments, in a word, for the time being, we are honoured by being given "the freedom of the embassy." To those well known bodies, the East India Association and the India Society, through the interest of their able secretaries, Sir Frank Brown and Mr F J Richter, my most sincere thanks are due for enabling me to address you under such distinguished auspices. It is also an honour to have Lord Zetland, the President of the India Society, in the Chair.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NEPALESE ART

There are several factors which make the art of Nepal of great significance in any study of Asiatic art. In the first place the art and architecture of this country provide a vivid reflection of the conditions that prevailed in the adjacent country of India during the mediæval period of its history. Moreover, the towns of Nepal illustrate, in the artistic character of the buildings, a state of art culture that remained untouched by Islamic influences, for, owing to its geographical position behind its mountain ramparts, it lay outside that great movement which began to alter the face of India from the twelfth century A.D. Yet to say that this independent country represents a microcosm of India as it was in the Middle Ages is a statement that requires modifications. For Nepal lies between India on the one hand and the influences of China on the other, so that throughout most of its history it has been the recipient of waves of culture, first from one and then from the other of these two powerful civilizations. During the Buddhist period in the early centuries of the Christian era, as with the

greater part of Asia, it looked to India for inspiration, and it was no doubt at this time that the foundations of its religious art were laid. It should be noted that within its southern borders lay the birthplace of the Buddha, so that its assimilation of the Buddhist creed is readily explained. Then it is recorded that the Mauryan Emperor Asoka, who proclaimed Buddhism as the state religion of India in the third century B.C., made a pilgrimage to Nepal and erected there certain commemorative monuments or stupas, showing the extent of this great religious movement.

At a later date, however, Nepal began to experience the impact of currents from the Far East, and its art plainly shows that there were periods when it drank deeply from the springs of Chinese culture, and its intercourse with that great empire at times must have been close. These currents broke on the northern flanks of the Himalayas, but never really penetrated through them, so that, in contrast with Nepal, none of this sinological influence is visible in the arts of India. Further, at the same time that Buddhism was beginning to decline in India, this religion continued to flourish in Nepal, not, however, in the precise form that prevailed in the country of its origin, but associated with Tantrism and other mystical attributions of indigenous derivation, all of which show themselves plainly in the art productions of the people. The arts of Nepal, therefore, may be epitomized as of Indian foundation, the outcome of Buddhist and Brahmanistic ideals, but containing expressions of original thought, and impregnated with influence from Chinese sources.

THE VALLEY OF NEPAL

Of the topographical character of Nepal it will suffice to say that it takes the form of a parallelogram of over 500 miles in length and 150 miles broad, so that it is in area approximately the dimensions of England and Scotland combined. It is almost entirely composed of an aggregation of mountains, but towards the centre of this range upon range of broken country there is one open space, a smiling valley some 20 miles long and 15 miles wide rather larger than the Isle of Wight, but at an elevation of 4,500 feet. Here lies the heart of the country, the focus of most of its

activities, and known as the Valley of Nepal. Within this relatively small area are situated the principal towns and religious edifices, its temples and shrines, and it is on the buildings comprising these that the artistic resources of the country have been lavished. These buildings, many of which are of a highly decorated order, were the handiwork of the original inhabitants of Nepal and known racially as Newars. The Newars are of mixed Mongolian extraction, but centuries of intermarriage with other races, mainly of an Indian stock, have produced this type. They are the artisans and traders of the country, and by religion Hindu-Buddhist, a fact which shows itself plainly in the character of their art.

Most of this art, as exemplified by the fine architecture of the towns in the valley, appears to have been developed during what may be termed the late mediæval period, the golden age of the Newar supremacy being when the country was under the rule of a dynasty known as the "Malla Rajas," who reigned from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In the middle of the fifteenth century one of these rulers found it expedient, on political and dynastic grounds, to divide up the administration of the country, and out of this were evolved the three royal cities of Katmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan. It is in the buildings forming these three capitals that the most representative art of the country is to be found.

The general style of the architecture of Nepal is similar to that found in most mountainous countries, but specifically in the form that this type of building took in the Himalayas. Timber being readily available, most of the buildings are constructed of wood, and designed to counteract the extremes of climate that prevail in a country of deep valleys and high elevations. The style therefore is noticeable for its wide eaves as a protection against the sun, and sloping roofs to throw off the heavy monsoon rain and occasional snow. The touchstone of its more formal architecture is, however, the design of its temples, of which there are innumerable examples. These take two forms, the majority being wooden structures built on the same principle as what is generally known as the Chinese pagoda. There are, however, a certain number of an entirely different order, as they are built of stone, and are of somewhat the

same type as the Indo-Aryan style of temple common on the plains of India. Those of the pagoda variety are the more ornate, as it was the custom to overlay the wooden foundation of the building with massive decorative additions in wood and metal, to which much of the artistic character of these structures is due. It was by these means that the arts of the metal-worker and wood-carver were encouraged, and few countries can boast of a finer display of productions in these processes than the temples and durbar halls of Nepal.

It was perhaps in the manipulation of metal that the Nepalese craftsman excelled, as on almost every building of note there are great gilt copper tympanums over each doorway and window, besides many other additions in the form of Hindu-Buddhist symbols attached to the walls, with figures and dragons guarding the entrances. On stylistic grounds it seems fairly clear that this metalwork of Nepal was a branch of the famous Hindu-Buddhist school of art which flourished in the neighbouring country of Magadha, now Bihar, in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. There were two famous exponents of this regional style of metalwork in India, whose names have been recorded by the historian Tara Nath, and it was probably pupils of these great masters, Duman and his son Bitpalo, who carried the art into Nepal. Most of the examples of the Magadhan school in India have perished, but the development in Nepal is well represented by the numerous figures, statuettes, and other manifestations of this art which are still *in situ* on the temples and shrines of the valley.

CONSERVATION

The arts of Nepal are still part of the life of its people and are a living testimony to their æsthetic nature. Yet the wonderful productions that are in such profusion cannot last for ever. The earthquake that took place a few years ago caused much damage, although the Administration has done its utmost to restore what was destroyed. This catastrophe has called attention to the fragile character of some of its most treasured possessions, and the risk to which these are subjected from a variety of causes. It seems advisable, therefore, that some steps should be taken to preserve these

examples of the arts and the architecture of the country, the former by means of a museum, and the latter by placing the historical buildings under the supervision of an expert, who would report on these from time to time, as to their condition. One other matter might also receive consideration, and that is the propriety of publishing a fully illustrated monograph on the Arts of Nepal. The remarkable significance of the buildings and the beautiful decoration with which they are enriched would fully justify the production of such a publication.

SPEECHES AT THE FOREGOING LECTURE

HIS EXCELLENCY THE NEPALESE MINISTER gave a reception at the Legation in Kensington Palace Gardens to members of the East India Association and the India Society, on Wednesday, October 6, 1937. Some 450 guests were present, and after refreshment had been served Mr Percy Brown gave a lantern lecture on the Arts of Nepal, summarized in the foregoing pages.

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND was in the chair, and in introducing the lecturer said: "We are greatly indebted to His Excellency the Nepalese Minister for his hospitality this afternoon and for placing the Legation at the disposal of the East India Association and the India Society. We are indebted to these two Societies for organizing this meeting and for securing the services of Mr Percy Brown to lecture upon the art of Nepal. And, finally, we are greatly indebted to Mr Percy Brown for having agreed to do so (Applause)."

I have been fortunate enough to know Mr Percy Brown for a great many years, and, casting my mind back, I won't say how many years, to happy days in the Happy Valley, not of Nepal but of Kashmir. I recall the fact that I knew Mrs Percy Brown even before I knew Mr Percy Brown, and indeed before she was Mrs Percy Brown at all. I can therefore bear witness to the fact that Mr Percy Brown is eminently well qualified to deal with the subject which he has chosen, for he has been associated with the development of art movements in India since the beginning—indeed, I think since before the beginning—of the present century, and he has been personally concerned with the teaching of art both in the Punjab and in Bengal.

However, the particular subject of his lecture this afternoon, "Art in Nepal," is one of peculiar interest, and he will illustrate it with a series of pictures which he was fortunate enough to be able to take during his inspection of the art works of that country.

The lecture was then given by Mr Percy Brown. At its conclusion the Chairman said: "It will be agreed that Mr Brown has given us an admirable conspectus of Nepal's art through the centuries, showing us the most charming examples of that art and bringing out clearly the two main influences which have been paramount in shaping it—namely, the Buddhist and the Chinese. I think it must have been made clear to all of us, as he told his story and illustrated it with his photographs, that not only are the Nepalese a people with a highly artistic temperament, but that they are also fortunate in having possessed craftsmen expert in the working of metal, wood, and stone, which enabled them to give so admirably expression to their artistic and their religious ideals."

You will wish me on your behalf to express to our lecturer your profound gratitude to him for the instruction and the entertainment which he has

given us, and I have no doubt whatever that you will desire that I should also accord your most grateful thanks to His Excellency the Nepalese Minister. I equally have no doubt that you would be very grateful to him if he would add to the debt of gratitude which we all owe him this afternoon by saying a few words in reply to you

HIS EXCELLENCY THE NEPALESE MINISTER It has been a great pleasure to me to have you all here, and I am deeply indebted to Lord Zetland for having taken the chair. I hope you have all enjoyed the lecture as much as I have done, and I consider myself very fortunate to have a man like Mr Brown, who knows my country so well, to give this interesting lecture

SOUTH INDIA IN PRESENT DAY FICTION

BY HILTON BROWN

("H B" of *Punch*)

SINCE the days of Euclid it has been considered suitable to open with definitions, and I may perhaps be allowed this excellent custom here. By "South India," then, I mean the Madras Presidency and its immediately adjoining States—Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore. "Present day" I intend to cover roughly the last twenty years. On the word "fiction" I will attempt no facetiousness or quibbling; I imply by it the narration of that which the narrator knows did not happen. I am not unaware that much has been solemnly written about South India which can scarcely be said to be true; and I have no doubt that if I searched the works of the politician, the pedant and the passenger, I could find you some amusing examples. But that must be for another occasion. I deal here with real fiction, the honest lie.

By defining "present day" as the last twenty years I considerably limit the field and I virtually rule out many revered names in South Indian literature—a great deal of Mrs. Penny, for instance, and practically all B. M. Croker. On the other hand India twenty years ago was so staggeringly unlike India of to-day that it might almost as well be Australia or Peru or Madagascar. I am going to say later that much of South Indian fiction must turn on official life, and the official life even of 1917 is now become a dream. Nor was there, in those days, any considerable body of Indian-written fiction. Let us stick, therefore, to the last twenty years even at the cost of neglecting writers of whom otherwise I should have had much to say.

Now fiction may seem a trifling subject on which to address this august Association. Yet I venture to suggest that while the first aim of fiction must be to amuse—and if it doesn't amuse it fails—it has also a deeper import. A man may be judged from the kind of jokes he laughs at; and he may also be judged by

the kind of lies he tells. Nothing should reveal him more clearly than the kind of story he likes to make up. Again—except in a pure fantasy of the imagination—the writer of fiction must set down what he supposes things to be like, and now and then, with a lucky hit, he even sets down what they *are* like. But sometimes too he will set down what he would wish them to be like, and there he reveals his dreams; and as every good Freudian knows, dreams are not things to be sneezed at. Now this aspect is not perhaps of much interest in the case of our own countrymen writing about India, but it becomes of crucial interest in the case of the Indian himself writing about India. The key to much Indian-written fiction and its defence against the charge of unreality is the knowledge that the Indian is writing about things partly as he sees them and partly as he wishes they were. I shall come back to this later, meantime I would only commend to your attention fiction as an avenue towards a better understanding between the two races.

THE TWO SCHOOLS

This seems to me a consideration which sets my subject above triviality. In the course of twenty years in South India I spent a good deal of time talking over stories with Indians, reading and criticizing their work; and I feel that if I now know anything about Indians—which, of course, is doubtful—it is due to these hours and not to the much more numerous hours of official contact. I am corroborated on this from the opposite side by Bhupal Singh in the preface to his *Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*—a most admirable book dealing with an extension of my present field—where he says, “we find (our masters) nearer to us in fiction than in our contact with them in official life.” So you see that in India fiction hath her victories no less renowned than fact.

Before going further I should perhaps issue one caveat. I am afraid I cannot deny that a not inconsiderable proportion of present day South Indian fiction has been written by myself. But if I am obliged to mention or quote from any of my own works,

I beg you to believe that I do so only for the purposes of this lecture and not with any view to advertising them here.

Present day South Indian fiction is written by two schools—the European and the Indian. (You know, of course, that in India an Englishman widens his boundaries and becomes a European; and a Scot, scorning the limitations of “British,” does the same.) So far as volume goes, the Indian school is now outstripping the European. Its quality is not so high in the sense that I do not think any Indian has written as good a book about India as some Europeans have written. But I doubt if many of you realize the extent to which this indigenous school of fiction—written, I mean, in English—actually exists; and I am sure that few of you realize how good some of it is and especially how good it may become. R. K. Narayan, who recently delighted us with his *Bachelor of Arts*, would be, I am sure, the first to agree with me if he heard me say that some of our English reviewers would have been less enthusiastic—or less patronizing—towards his excellent work if they had known it was not an isolated instance of proficiency. Some of them hardly seemed to get beyond the idea, “Isn’t it clever of him to be able to write in English!” I mention this because it seems to indicate a degree of ignorance in high places which may justify this present attempt to dispel it. I will come back to this later; meantime, then, there are the two schools—the European and the Indian.

EUROPEAN AUTHORS

Let us consider the European school first, because it is the *less* important. All fiction writers who write for other than their own personal pleasure must be governed by two factors—their public and their theme. The European writer of fiction in India cannot hope to appeal to a very large Indian public; for one thing, his book will be too dear for them to buy. The Indian public still thinks fourpence a good sound price for a book and they can buy Gandhi’s collected speeches for that figure. For another, the English tongue still reaches but a minute fraction of even literate India. But apart from these

drawbacks, what interests the European writer—and therefore what he writes about—will not generally interest the Indian reader. He is thus obliged to aim at the Home or British public and it will be his endeavour to portray life in India in such a way as to interest you over here. In this laudable attempt I am bound to confess—and I speak after twenty years of trying it—the most of us have signally failed. At South India the British public refuses to look. At Mexico, yes; at Equatorial Africa, yes; at South India, no.

Why is this? The easiest solution is to say—because the South Indian writers are bad. But—leaving aside Kipling, of course—they are certainly not worse than those who have written about North India, which has in its day enjoyed a considerable vogue. We must look therefore beyond the writers' shortcomings. One reason that has been suggested to me is the jaw-breaking and eye-dazzling character of the South Indian names; and there is doubtless something in this. The "Love Song of Har Dyal of Lahore" is an assimilable title, the "Love Song of Sankaranarayana Ayyangar of Periyannayakanpalayam" is a bit of a twister.

A wider reason, perhaps, is the definite disservice done to all subsequent Indian story-tellers by the genius of Kipling. Kipling was in India only for a short time as a very young man, and even that was fifty years ago; but he has given the British reader a picture of India so diamond-clear and convincing that the reader views every fresh artist with suspicion. S. K. Ghosh in his *Prince of Destiny* sees—I think rightly—in Kipling a writer who has prevented the Press of England from learning the truth about India: but then, who would have the truth when he could have Kipling? At any rate Kipling told England that South India was a dud place altogether and England believes it still. Perhaps, therefore, Kipling "did" India once and for all: on the plane of serious work I can think of only one book which has broken through the Kipling barrage—E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*—a book itself so blent of exquisitely close observation and appalling caricature as to leave only an impression of bewilderment. In these—South Indian nomen-

clature and the conclusiveness of Kipling—we have perhaps contributory reasons for the failure of South Indian fiction to stand the sea voyage.

A PLACID BACKGROUND

But I think they are only contributory; the real reason lies in that other factor which I said governed the fiction writer everywhere—theme. If you lay your scene in outlandish places, you must justify it by violent incidents. In Mexico and in Equatorial Africa these take place; in South India—though this statement may astonish some of you—they don't. If a writer desires to set out a genuine and natural picture of life in South India, his characters must interest themselves—and their readers—in the moves and jealousies of official life, as must C. R. Milton's and some of my own, in mission religion, as must Mrs. Penny's; in business transactions, in the interplay of Anglo-Indian politics, in games and sport (so far as these will go), and in the unsatisfactory half-contact between the races. These themes *can* be made interesting but only at the cost of technicalities which the Home reader is disinclined to face. Wild things, exciting things, do not happen. Worse still, so many of us in India are working as parts of various machines that there is little opportunity for the individual to develop (in fiction, I mean) in either activities or character. You have types doing the same thing day after day—and that makes slow reading.

This, I think, explains the disproportionate frequency of the riot in South Indian fiction. I find that in the first three of my own novels a riot of major or minor magnitude plays part in the dénouement; and the lady who has written under the name of C. R. Milton was reduced to the same expedient in at least one of her books. A riot, political or communal, is about the only thing that *can* happen, so in fiction it *does* happen. Would I be wrong in saying that there is a major riot in 75 per cent. of European-written Indian fiction? Yet in sober truth there are very few major riots; in twenty years' service I myself was never involved in a single one.

Thus the European writer of South Indian fiction is faced

with the dilemma—either to be natural and have no happenings or to have them and distort. Some have chosen the one line and some the other; but the serious work and the valuable work has come, I think, from the school of unexciting truth. In this we seem to have held a sounder balance than our North Indian friends; we have had our sensational writers in South India but not so many as elsewhere; we have escaped E. W. Savi and Maud Diver, and with the exception of Alastair Shannon's *Black Scorpion* we have escaped the cruder cinema school. And we have largely escaped what I call Naulakhitis. I do not know if Kipling ever wrote a bad book; if he did, it was *The Naulakha*, which—doubtless for this reason—has been more slavishly imitated, in India at least, than all his other work put together. *The Naulakha*, I would remind you, was about a blackguard of an American who came to India to steal a temple jewel with which to bribe another blackguard to bring the railway through the first blackguard's home town; his secondary object in essaying the East being the pursuit of one of the most tiresome women who have ever achieved print. I have my own theories as to how Kipling came to write this work, but the immediate point is that it has generated Naulakhitis, from which has come a stream of palace-poisoning, susceptible-Rani, jewel-pilfering absurdities. South India has not wholly escaped from this epidemic; but the North got it much worse.

Faute de mieux, the European writer of Indian fiction falls back too often on sex; and even here he is heavily handicapped. Maidens are scarce even in Presidency headquarters, and up-country are almost non-existent; sex interest is therefore obliged to resort to variants upon the eternal triangle. It has so often been said that this has produced an entirely false idea of the frequency of marital infidelity in India that I need hardly repeat it here. As many of my friends were openly unfaithful or driven to divorce in India as in this country—that is to say, none. But if a writer can't have violent happenings and can't again have youths and maidens meeting in love's young dream, what can he do but play upon the triangle? The comical result has been that a reader nurtured on certain schools of Indian fiction

would suppose life in that country to be a series of matrimonial tangles increasing in intensity till a just Providence saw fit to terminate them with the solvent of a good hearty riot.

There have been, of course, stories in which a European is in love with an Indian lady or an Indian lady in love with him—like Sir John Bennville in *The Jewel of Malabar*, one of the oddest and perhaps one of the most terrible repercussions of the Moplah Rebellion. I can only say of these that they affect me with slight nausea—not because I feel strongly about race and colour but because I feel strongly about probability and truth.

REACTIONS TO INDIAN LIFE

Apart from the opposing schools of probability-and-no-happenings and sensation-and-blow-the-truth, there is a further way in which our writers may be divided—those who like India and those who do not. They will write accordingly. India must be either loved or loathed; I never heard of anyone with a brain who was bored with India or who tolerated India. Now it is not necessary to love a place in order to write vividly and well about it; hate will serve the purpose equally well. Both viewpoints will distort; the distortions will be different, that is all. South Indian fiction—like all Indian fiction—is coloured by the predilections of its exponents in this respect. A sample of the pro-India attitude may be found in my own *Locust Food*, where

“Once again Martin felt his heart torn with the delight of this India, this entrancing, unstable, capricious, hide-and-seeking mistress of a country”

For the anti-, hear C. R. Milton in *The Sunset Gun*:

“When India lies fine, unknown, mysterious beyond the skyline, the voyage east is big with beautiful possibility. Only then. Afterwards the promise of the Indian seas is for such as are homeward bound”

It is evident that my Martin and C. R. Milton's Janey would have written very differently about India. I do not say that one of these viewpoints is necessarily right and the other wrong; but they are both inhibitions which will determine—and distort—both what their victim writes and how he writes it.

The sad thing—and to me it is also an incomprehensible thing—is that the majority of our writers join in a chorus of disillusionment and disappointment. Few perhaps have gone so far as Cherry and Mrs. Atkins in Bruce's *Eurasian* (not a South Indian story, I am glad to think), for we learn that to both of these ladies "as wholesome Englishwomen natedom as such was indiscriminatingly heathenish and repugnant." One feels that they were indeed indiscriminating so it is a good thing they were wholesome. Yet though few proceed to these extremes there seems to be a general feeling among our writers that India is a sad, bad place. Perhaps they expected too much, perhaps they saw too little; in either case, it seems to me, the maladjustment has seriously prejudiced the value of their work. So between jaundice and poverty of theme, between an indifferent public and a more than indifferent understanding, the European writer of Indian fiction has not the best chance.

INDIAN AUTHORS

We should turn, therefore, with the brighter hope, to those who *should* write fiction about India—the Indians themselves. They have material in abundance and an eager public at their doors, they do not falter in fogs of the half-understood or sit weeping by rivers of Babylon. Mrs. Penny as long ago as 1897 said the Indians were the most interesting people in the world; she might have added that they were also the most difficult to know. But if they would reveal themselves to us even in jest, if they would tell us veil-lifting stories about themselves, how doubly interesting they would be! That is what they are beginning to do and that is what I hope they will go on doing—*crescendo*.

They fall again into two schools—the vernacular and the English. Of the vernacular I can say little for I am sorry to confess I could never learn adequately any of the four principal languages current in the Madras Presidency; but just for the reason that vernacular fiction cannot reach me, so it cannot reach anybody else beyond a chosen few and its importance is thus gravely curtailed. From credible information I gather that

it does not amount to very much. Its exponents are either very new-fashioned or very old-fashioned: in the former case they follow the cinema and detective-story leads of the very West; in the latter they adhere to the well-tried methods of the old drama school, interlarding their narrative with large-type moral maxims—and, let it be fairly admitted, they still find vast audiences delighting in this old tradition. Sometimes they tend to propaganda, as when Mrs. Kothanayaki Ammal concludes her novel *Saramathi* with a spirited plea for the wearing of *khaddar* (that is to say, home-manufactured cloth) and the words, “Wear *khaddar*! Vande mataram! Allah-o-Akbar! Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai!” This is much as if an English writer were to conclude with “Use Pears’ Soap; three cheers for England; glory to God; Heil Hitler!” So although good work is being done in the vernacular field, I think we will be justified in placing our hopes rather in those Indian writers who have adopted our own tongue.

Now if I were here in the character of a comedian I could no doubt amuse you for the balance of the time at my disposal with a recital of ineptitudes; but I have never found anything excruciatingly funny in the clumsiness or error of beginners, and in any case I am aiming at something higher than that. I would much rather tell you of the achievements than of the failures; and there *is* already a large measure of achievement. Remember that Indian-written fiction in English is an infant growth; it dates, I think, only from Miss Cornelia Sorabji’s *Love and Life behind the Purdah* (which was 1901) or in South India from T. Ramakrishna’s historical novel *Padmini* (which was 1903). It will be difficult to convey the volume and quality of the subsequent achievement in the short time I have left; neither a detailed analysis of a single work nor a hurried catalogue of names would do me—or you—much service. But let me try.

Our Indian writers in English have expressed themselves in three forms—the novel, the short story, and what I must, for want of a better name, call the social sketch. (They themselves call this last a “skit,” but it is not that, for while it satirizes it

does not strike.) So far the novel is at once their most ambitious and their least successful field and this is hardly to be wondered at. For one thing they are bound to fall between two stools in the matter of public; writing in English, they must aim to attract and please the English reader and at the same time to attract and please the Indian; and this leads inevitably to inconsistencies. Bhupal Singh, criticizing Bal Krishna's incredibly rapid (from the Indian point of view) love-making in *The Love of Kusuma*, says: "The author in his anxiety to please the West has developed his theme in a manner alien to the spirit of Hindu life." How sadly often does this criticism apply! I have always told those Indians who have done me the honour of seeking my advice and help in their writing, "You will never do any good till you drop your horrible habit of forcing Indian pictures into European frames, of distorting a Hindu story into the mould of the *Strand Magazine*. Write well, as an Indian, and Europeans will read you." Again, the Indian novelist suffers from bad models; naturally he follows the lines laid down for him by the European writers, and the most fervid admirer of these could hardly say that they have set his aspirations a uniformly good example. Indeed, nothing that Indians produce can possibly be worse than some of the efforts of our own people. But, bad or good, the Indian is obliged to follow the models he sees before him; so that he suffers from Naulakhitis in a fresh and more terrible form.

His novels fall roughly into three classes. First there is the novel proper, which describes the general doings of men and women over a period of time. Here K. S. Venkataramani's *Murugan the Tiller* has become something of a South Indian classic. It has grave faults—its plot wanders and rambles, its characters are violently black or violently white, and its verisimilitude is hampered by a convention of the author's by which his characters speak rather as they would have wished to have spoken if they could, than as they actually would have spoken in real life. But, after all, Shakespeare used a very similar convention. The solid thing about the book is its descriptive power, the cumulative effect it produces and its essential Indian-ness.

Another good example in this *genre* is K. Nagarajan's *Athawar House*, which is perhaps the nearest thing to a full-dress novel the South Indian has yet produced. It is about the financial, matrimonial, and social ups and downs of a Brahmin family; its characters are sound and real, its episodes coherent and probable, and its essence genuine. If you have no acquaintance with South Indian fiction writing, either of these books would be an eye-opener.

POLITICAL NOVELS

A second class of novel is the political; nothing very acceptable has so far appeared in this class—which is odd, for if ever there was a being whose mind ran on politics it is the educated South Indian. He takes them perhaps too seriously for story-making. There is, however, an interesting book called *Indira Devi*, by A. Subrahmanyam—interesting less for its achievement than for its attempt. In one of the most acutely observed instances in that miracle of acute observation *A Passage to India* the Mussulman host “raised his voice suddenly and shouted for dinner. Servants shouted back that it was ready. They meant that they wished it was ready and were so understood, for nobody moved.” This, as understanding, is absolutely profound and it will explain a multitude of incongruities that puzzle the stranger in the East. It will explain *Indira Devi*, which is a prophetic story of 1951 where Indians and Europeans are found living side by side on the most intimate terms and intermarrying quite naturally, and where barriers of all sorts have vanished with the years. Some time ago I said that the writer of fiction sometimes revealed his dreams, sometimes wrote of things as he wished they were—like Mr. Forster's Mohammedan servants with the dinner. Here is a case in point.

The third form of the novel is an extension of the social sketch. It does not contain striking events and it depends on character and atmosphere, which are usually, however, admirably done. I will quote an example of this which will be familiar to many of you—R. K. Narayan's *Bachelor of Arts*, one of the few Indian novels which have forced the ring-fence

of the British publisher. It seems to me a book typical of the best to which Indian fiction-writing has so far advanced. It is light, it is deft, it is vivid, it is true. You cannot but feel that its people are charming people and that its picture of an Indian family is acutely real. But its love interest is decidedly of the Indian brand, the first girl cannot even be spoken to and the final bride only gets the length of casting down her eyes. And indeed little more than that happens at all.

SHORT STORIES

So much for the novel. A more prolific and at the same time a more generally successful line has been the short story. I am sure you have no idea of the quantity of short stories Indians in Madras are writing to-day; the mass is so large and so diversified that I can hardly attempt to weigh or assess it here. But perhaps I may be allowed to say didactically that Nagarajan, Venkataraman and the late G. K. Chettur have all written a number of short stories you would read with pleasure; and to these I can add individual triumphs by Guruswami Reddiar and M. S. Doraiswami. I am not going to deny that there is a great deal of poor or very poor stuff also—how should it be otherwise?—but the point is not the failures but the successes. The worst fault of these writers is the one I described a little ago as forcing Indian pictures into European frames; to this they are driven by a lack of indigenous ideas. Their plots are often feeble or silly; many of them cannot realize that a court case or a newspaper episode or a quasi-historical legend does *not per se* make a short story. But I should like to repeat my belief that behind all this dross there is a vein of genuine gold; and I prophesy that that vein will be worked—and who shall say how deep or how rich it may run?

How far the social sketch or skit can legitimately be called "fiction" is open to question; how far the Indian writer succeeds with it is not. In this line he is often quite excellent. There is a man in Madras called S. V. Vijayaraghavachari—"S. V. V." for short—who is writing the most delicious stuff—

light as a feather, satirically humorous, not untender, most intimately revealing of Hindu life; splendid spiteful stuff which can bear direct comparison, *mutatis mutandis*, with the work of our own E. M. Delafield. In this field, too, K. Nagarajan has done some delightful things. It is the field of which *The Bachelor of Arts* is a full-length extension; and unless I mistake, it is the field in which South Indian fiction has its best hope.

LIMITED RANGE OF SUBJECTS

Why this is so should be apparent after a moment's thought. The Indian fiction writer, like the European but to an almost greater degree, is stuck for subjects. To a greater degree because, in our country, how many stories circle round the love interest in one form or another? Delete the love interest and what have you left? Now, as I have said already—and this is a thing the Indian novelist and short story writer often fatally fails to grasp—the Indian methods of love-making, the Indian régime of courtship and sexual association will *not* lend themselves to treatment on Western lines. But the short story or the novel must be written on established—that is to say, on Western—lines; the only thing to do with sex therefore is to cut it out. Now that is a terrible handicap to lay upon any writer; and upon an Indian writer, you will say, an insupportable handicap. But is it?

Katherine Mayo, R. J. Minney, and others have been at pains to emphasize the Indian's preoccupation with sex affairs. I really do think this arises from a miscomprehension. This is not the time or the place for a dissertation on these grave topics; but I will say this: far from being more taken up with sex than the Englishman, for present purposes the Indian is *less* taken up with it. In this sense—that while an English writer could hardly write interesting or natural descriptions of the activities of men and women without introducing sex, the Indian could. The thing is, in India, subservient; and in any case—here is the present point—it doesn't make stories. So long as the Indian writer tries to compose love stories on Western lines he is

doomed to failure, because he is at once introducing an unnatural and jarring element—much as if he set out to execute Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* on the *veena*. If he is to succeed, he must contrive—as R. K. Narayan and K. Nagarajan and a few others have contrived—to handle his love interest in the delicate, elusive, unsubstantial Indian form. And if he cannot so contrive, he must leave it out.

But if sex, if the love interest is barred to him, it can easily be seen why the Indian writer must turn back upon just those components which make up the social sketch or skit—family and social humours, life's daily businesses and mischiefs, the difficulties of polite intercourse, the hopes and renunciations of youth, the clash of modernity on old-established tradition. You will say he is thus debarred at once from the heights and the depths of life, from its ecstasies and its tragedies, its peaks and its pits. Perhaps to some extent he is, but the heights and the depths of fictitious characters are, after all, mainly an affair of the writing. You or I or anybody else could transcribe *Hamlet* or *Lear* in such a way that these grim masterpieces would become tedious, comic, or unreadable, an Indian with the gift could write of the arrangements for a marriage or the election to a municipal council or a deal in tamarinds in such a way as to elevate these commonplaces into literature. With fiction of all things it is not the matter but the manner, it is the way you tell a lie that counts—as the confidence tricksters long since discovered. And so I think that this amplification and development of the social sketch is what the South Indian fiction-writers—and all Indian fiction-writers—must set themselves to do, and I think it is what they will do. And if they remain true to themselves and their own national necessities, they will succeed, and then what a curtain will be rent away and what a scene of interest and delight will be laid bare to Western eyes!

But that day is still some distance off, South Indian fiction is still an infant growth. I hope there may be better European writers of it yet, but I place a deeper trust in the possibility of better Indians. And I remain convinced of one thing: the

peoples of the two races may never understand one another through the medium of those who are deliberately telling them the truth, but they have a very good chance of understanding one another through the medium of those who are deliberately telling them lies

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W 1, on Tuesday, October 19, 1937, when a paper entitled "South India in Present Day Fiction" was read by Mr Hilton Brown, I C S (retd). The Most Hon the Marchioness of Willingdon, G B E, C I, K -I-H, was in the Chair.

In opening the meeting LORD LAMINGTON, the President, said I am very sorry that at the opening meeting of the session I cannot stop for the reading of the paper. I especially regret it because the meeting has the honour of having in the Chair Lady Willingdon, who has done such wonderful service for India. The Association is very grateful to Mr Hilton Brown, who spent twenty years in the I C S in Madras. He has now come home and is connected with the journal *Punch*, which brings unfailing amusement to a vast number of people.

The MARCHIONESS OF WILLINGDON then took the chair and said I am very glad to have been invited to preside at this meeting today, for in the first place I shall have the pleasure of having recalled to my mind the happy five years I spent in South India when my husband was Governor of Madras, and in the second place it is a still greater pleasure to have the privilege of introducing our lecturer, Mr Hilton Brown, who, as a member of the Indian Civil Service, was associated with my husband while he was Governor in the administration of the Madras Presidency. His help to me at that time in matters connected with publicity in regard to fêtes and other charitable organizations, which I was called upon to preside over, I shall always be grateful for. It is true that in recent years we have seen little of each other, but I hope he may feel some satisfaction when I say that I have continued to take an interest in his career by the fact that when I read my *Punch* week by week I look out for the writings of "H B."

I must confess to being much intrigued at the title of Mr Hilton Brown's lecture today, "South India in Present Day Fiction," for my recollection of South India must be always one of past day facts, a recollection of those years spent in the Madras Presidency which will always remain to me as some of the happiest I spent in India. To us Britishers South India will always have a tremendous appeal from the fact that it was at Madras that the great East India Company first laid the foundations of their trading operations in India. I found there two homes, one in Madras city, and the other in that lovely hill station of Ootacamund, which for charm and comfort, for scenery and associations, were among the most delightful of my homes during the sixteen years of my life in India.

But I must not detain you any longer with my *facts*, for I know we are all anxious to hear about *fiction*, and I therefore shall now call upon Mr Hilton Brown to address you.

The paper was then read

MR CHARTRES MOLONEY As the time is very short, I shall only thank Mr Hilton Brown most sincerely for his very interesting paper Then I shall venture to give you some of my ideas about Indian fiction I am afraid that I must go a little further than Southern India, because I think that the principles underlying fiction everywhere are very much the same I think that the fault of almost all fiction dealing with India is a certain lack of truthfulness

A great deal of Indian fiction was written in bygone days by English ladies, rather dear old ladies, who lived in India for untold years, never troubled to learn a word of an Indian tongue, never met an Indian *naturally* When I read their works I think that they took all their ideas of Indians from their domestic servants That is ridiculous I am a foreigner, an Irishman, living in Berkshire, but I do not judge Berkshire society by my cook or by the boy who works in my garden

Then there is the school of horrors Miss Katherine Mayo may serve as an example I do not doubt that her facts are true, but they are not fairly representative I can find you horrors as bad in England Here is one from a letter written long ago by a lady who visited a jail A woman had committed a theft, which by the savage law of the time was punishable by death She was sentenced to death She was a married woman, and when she was sentenced she was expecting a child The jail authorities waited for the child to be born, then they were waiting until the woman was sufficiently recovered to be hanged! Can India equal that horror?

I come to Kipling He was a genius, but as I grow older I find less satisfaction in his Indian work I dislike the constant glorification of the strong silent Englishman who saves India every morning before breakfast from pestilence and famine, from battle, murder, and sudden death And I dislike the implicit depreciation of the Indian And here is another point

I lived once for five years entirely among Indians it was in a small Indian State The language of the State was Urdu I learned something of it—not very much I was talking to a Hadji about Burton's journey to Mecca, and I remarked that it was a wonderful linguistic feat The Hadji said "No, so far as language is concerned you could do it yourself You speak Urdu quite easily and naturally But you would give yourself away You have not an Oriental mind, you are constantly expressing thoughts which do not occur to an Oriental, twisting the language to express thoughts which really it does not hold" It seems to me that much of the thought and speech which Kipling attributes to Indians is not really to be found in an Indian mind or Indian language

Take one of Kipling's most famous characters, Strickland Sahib He is very much a puppet worked by wires, there is no psychology in him Strickland is at one moment the conventional Anglo-Indian of the Club, the next moment he is a "loathly fakir" That is impossible For a man so purely Indian can never be purely English

The most interesting story on this theme that I have read is *Quinlan*, by A S M Westwood Quinlan is the son of European parents His father

and mother died of cholera in camp when Quinlan was a baby. A border chief picked up the baby and brought him up as his own son. At about seventeen Quinlan was retrieved, educated in England. He came back to India as a police officer. He is not wholly English, nor yet wholly Indian, the interest of the story is the conflict in him of two different races, two different civilizations.

There is a sequel to *Quinlan*, it tells of a party cut off from the world by the breakdown of a train. In the party are Quinlan and a Bengali whom Quinlan knows to be a terrorist seeking to murder him. On Strickland lines Quinlan would have lawfully foiled the Bengali, or, perhaps, have been himself tragically murdered. Here the breakdown has put the party metaphorically across the frontier, and there the Pathan strikes quicker than the Bengali. In plain words Quinlan murdered the man on his Pathan side. Quinlan does not worry overmuch about murder! The snobbery of Anglo-India-dom is cleverly depicted. The English of his station murmur, "What a pity that Mr Quinlan should have all these bazaar relations." They cannot understand that these are Quinlan's people, the people whom he loves, of whom he is proud. The Anglo-Indians say, "Of course, he can't introduce his wife to his old Pathan mother." The tragedy of Quinlan's soul is that his fierce old Pathan mother refuses to receive her son's Faringi wife.

I quite agree with Mr Brown's estimate of *Bachelor of Arts*. Almost better is *Grass under my Feet*, by a Tamil of Ceylon. It is the autobiography of a boy; it is written in beautiful English, but it is purely Indian. It tells of an uncle who was a stone-mason carrying on a sideline in sorcery, of another uncle who was a devil-dancer. It makes one understand that the human boy is everywhere very much the same.

I should like to mention two books. These are *The Autobiography of Thillai Govindan* and *The Child's Story of the Ramayana*. Both are by the late P. A. Madhaviah. He was a lifelong friend of mine; we were such friends that now and then we quarrelled violently. *Thillai Govindan* is especially interesting to me. Madhaviah wrote it when he was about 26, he was then, like many young Brahmins, in revolt against everything. He was an atheist, he trampled caste under his feet. What he wrote up to his then age (26) is pure fact. But an autobiography cannot end at 26, and Madhaviah continued the story imaginatively until Thillai Govindan was old. By some astonishing artistic foresight or by some call of the blood he foretold exactly what his own life would be. Madhaviah, as he grew older, grew much milder, much more religious, much more orthodox.

In *The Child's Story of the Ramayana* Madhaviah took a bird's-eye view of the huge epic. Then he told this in a book of some 400 pages, interspersing in the story witty reflections, asides, comments. It is very much in the style of Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*. Madhaviah wrote this to amuse his children, and he gave me the typescript. I suggested that he should publish it in England. Macmillan and Co. published it, but unluckily the publication coincided with the outbreak of the Great War. And so the book was lost.

There is a peculiar difficulty for us English people in the Tamil South

this is language. There are faults on both sides, Tamil and English. Tamil has an old literary style, full of archaic words and complicated constructions. It also has a peculiar system of lettering. Words are not divided as we divide them: a whole string of words are jumbled together, then a break occurs in the lettering where there is no break in the words. There are other difficulties too technical to mention here. Really no Tamil now uses this style of language or system of lettering. But when a Tamil sits down to write a literary work he uses this old style, which is not his real style. Consequently his work in Tamil is artificial, and, when he writes English, he brings from his own language to a foreign language no definite standard of literary propriety. So his work is artificial. Compare the Bengalis: they have kept their language alive. Perhaps Tagore writes so well in English because he writes perfectly in Bengali.

The Europeans in the South—or most of them—simply will not learn the language. I was always hammering at this point with Government. Government should insist that its servants learn the language adequately without that an official cannot do his work properly, a writer cannot write anything true about the people. I do not know much about Indians, but the little that I do know I learned wandering about and talking to them.

If the Tamils would modernize their language, write it today as they really speak it today, their literature need not be a closed book to us as is the old and terribly difficult literary Tamil. If Europeans would apply themselves reasonably to the language, they would learn much more about the people, they would write much more truly about them.

MR C A KINCAID. I did not know the lecturer would confine the course of his lecture within such a narrow channel as he has done. I was hoping he would give us something about vernacular novels in Southern India. He has, however, explained that he was never able to learn any of the vernacular languages. I can assure Mr Brown that I have many times met Madras civilians and enjoyed the greatest pleasure from their society. But I only once met a Madras man who had ever known any Tamil. He said, "I once knew Tamil." I nearly fell on his neck and wept aloud.

We have in the Bombay Presidency novelists of great merit both in Marathi and Gujarati. In Marathi we have Mr Apte, who gave us in the vernacular some of the most charming novels, showing the customs of the people. Then in Gujarati we have had people like Mr Narmadashankar, who has given us novels of the peak period of Rajput history. Of course, we have the great advantage in our part of India, both in Rajputana and in the Bombay Presidency, of having legends of ancient Rajput chiefs, which are the most fascinating things in the world and which in Southern India you do not possess.

To show how little understanding of Rajputs there is in Madras: in a series of articles I wrote not long ago for the *Weekly Illustrated*, I described Rajputs as drinking opium and water before going into battle, and a Madras gentleman wrote and said I was perfectly wrong, and that opium was never drunk. All I could do was to write back that with Rajput gentlemen I had constantly drunk opium and water mixed, and very good it

was If you are out hunting and have had no food for a long time, a glass of opium and water is one of the finest things I know I can give you my assurance that I have not since become an addict.

Mr Hilton Brown referred to his own novels, and very eminent they are I hope you will excuse me if I make a reference to my son's novels I think you will find there is little or no reference to sex in them His first book was written about Southern India, and was the result of his being very intimate with some old Brahman friends of mine down there who showed him the greatest attention But Indian administrators, although they issue circulars to their juniors telling them to mix with Indians as much as possible, do not really like their doing so My son was transferred from the Deccan to Upper Sind, but, I am glad to say, he put his transfer to such use that he was able to write *Cactus Land* and give an extraordinary account of the various techniques of Sind dancing I think that book will probably live He also wrote a book about Goa—viz, *Tropic Rome*—and also *Their Ways Divide*, which I think is probably the most extraordinary study of a young Indian's mind that has ever been written I trust you will forgive me for this personal reference

Colonel D S MACKAY One reason I want to speak is because I have known Mr Hilton Brown since he was Captain Hilton Brown of the war-time

First of all, I am a little disappointed that Mr Brown has made his geographical boundaries so very narrow, because, as everybody in India knows, I believe, on the North-West Frontier they regard the Central Provinces, Calcutta, and Bombay as in Southern India Secondly, I hoped we should get back as far as *Little Henry and His Bearer*, which I think is the first fiction written about India I was rather sorry to hear him criticize Kipling in modern idiom, such as the "old school tie" and that sort of thing Kipling's Indian work was written many years ago, and I think it ought to be judged according to the manner of those times rather than the present times So I would like to put in a word for him

Lady PENTLAND Just a word of thanks to Mr Brown for his lecture We must all agree with what he has said about artistic matters being such a good ground for getting to know each other And we hope with him that more and more novelists will succeed in putting across the vivid characters of South India In Madras one was often struck by the keen literary interest, and Lady Willingdon will remember all over India the extraordinary imagination and dramatic talent shown by Indians from the age of one year or whenever they can stand and talk and give those charming and delightful performances that we so often see

In Madras last year we spent a very pleasant hour having an orthodox lunch with our old friends Sir Sivaswami and Lady S Aiyar He always has been a great student, and his desks were heaped with all kinds of learned treatises But what he gave us for our journey away from Madras, and which very much entertained us, were some books by S V V, *Soap Bubbles* and other amusing sketches As Mr Hilton Brown has said, they are first class

It is curious that I associate Madras literary talent very much with humour, as in *Madras Occasional Verse*. Perhaps that is why Mr Hilton Brown flourished in that atmosphere. We are also grateful to Mr Hilton Brown for the verses in which he has expressed for many of us the nostalgia of those who have loved India and particularly the blue Nilgiri Hills.

MR HILTON BROWN I seem to be in the happy position of having nothing to reply to except kindness. In the first place, it is my duty to thank Lady Willingdon for the very pleasant things she had said about me. I do so very gladly and also a little shamefacedly when I think that at one time I came within an ace of killing her.

Shortly after Lord Willingdon took office in Madras, when our Charman was not so well known as she afterwards became, I was playing golf at Ooty and had the impertinence to imagine myself rather held up by a mixed foursome in front. The fourteenth hole is a blind hole, and with a very good tee shot you just reach the green. I smote, and, the devil no doubt inspiring me, I hit a very good shot and it landed right in the middle of that green where Lady Willingdon was. I was just saying, in my pride, "That will shift them on a bit," when another man came up and said, "You silly fool, that's Her Ex." I do not think Lady Willingdon knew anything about that incident before tonight, because I ran away and hid. I recall it now in order that I may say how very thankful we all are—and this is something on which everybody in the room must agree with me—that my shot did not get any nearer.

I find nothing to disagree with Mr Moloney, indeed, I specially endorse what he said as regards the fact of fiction writers in India not writing what they know or believe to be true. I think that is what I said myself about Indians when I said they were forcing their Indian stories into Western frames, and that if they would come down and write about their own lives as they are instead of as they think they might be in a *Strand* story we should be very much better off.

Also I am in sympathy with what he said about the pernicious habit some European writers have of basing their Indian characters on their servants and clerks, these being all they know. As regards Miss Mayo and her school of horrors, it is a fact that her statements are indisputably true. It is equally a fact that they are an entirely one-sided record.

Mr Kincard told us he did not know that the lecture was to confine itself to such narrow channels. I did not know this myself until I started to write it. I had intended to make it much wider and cover a much larger field, but I found myself up against the old difficulty of getting a quart into a pint bottle. I should also like to say how glad and proud I would have been if I could have included Mr Dennis Kincard's novels under South Indian fiction, and how much the richer that fiction would have been had these books been written about South India.

As to Kipling, though I share Colonel Mackay's admiration for his genius, I think perhaps we have heard enough of him for one evening. In that case I have nothing more to do except to thank Lady Pentland and again Lady Willingdon for the generous things they have said and you all

for the very great kindness you have shown me and your very kind attention to this lecture

Sir FRANK NOYCE It is perhaps in the fitness of things that, on what for various reasons has been my first appearance in public since I arrived in England at the end of April, it should be my privilege to propose a vote of thanks on your behalf to Lady Willingdon for so charmingly presiding over our discussions this evening, and to Mr Hilton Brown for a lecture of unusual interest. In the first place, it is like old times to be proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Willingdon (it is very difficult to refrain from calling her "Her Excellency") I have done so at sundry times and on divers occasions in India, and I hope this will not be my last opportunity of doing so.

In the second place, Lady Willingdon, Mr Hilton Brown, and I all come from the same part of India, the Madras Presidency, and, although for the greater part of Lady Willingdon's time in India and my own our lot was cast in other parts of India, I think it is correct to say that Madras holds the warmest place in our affections. Lady Willingdon may not admit that, but she has confided in me in the past how fond she is of Madras, and I can assure you and her that there is no part of India in which she is remembered with greater affection and gratitude.

Mr Brown is an old friend and colleague of mine. We once served in the same district as magistrates, and there we dealt with a form of South Indian fiction that was outside the scope of his lecture this afternoon, and if I recollect correctly, he did not deal with that kind of Indian fiction as tenderly as he has with what has been the subject of his lecture.

The Indian Civil Servant is called upon to play many parts, but I think Mr Hilton Brown is the first member of it to be closely associated with the greatest humorist weekly in the world. We all shine in the reflection of his glory.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

LUNCHEON TO LORD AND LADY BRABOURNE

A LUNCHEON to the Right Hon Lord Brabourne, late Governor of Bombay and now Governor of Bengal, and Lady Brabourne, was given by the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society at the Rooms of the Society on November 4, when some 230 members and guests were present. The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, presided, and in proposing the toast of "Our Guests" said

It is very fitting that we should do honour to Lord and Lady Brabourne, for they have, during the past four years, played with great distinction and with marked success an intimate part in an enterprise in the domain of state-craft unparalleled in the annals of the human race. Our motives in establishing in India, with its wide spaces and its varied and polyglot population, a system of representative government upon a democratic basis has been, in spite of the accusations to the contrary, a single-minded desire to meet their very natural aspirations, and to foster relations so cordial between our respective countries, as to enable us together—we of the West and they of the East—to face with increasing confidence and hope the strains and stresses of a world whose growing pains give cause for grave anxiety, even if they presage, as all men of faith must believe, the birth of a new and happier future.

What of the great enterprise of which I have spoken? We in this country believe that the system of government which we have available upon the soil of these islands is the best which mankind has so far achieved, and we do so largely because Parliamentary government, while it vests ultimate sovereignty in the people as a whole, at the same time secures to the individual the greatest measure of liberty compatible with the interests of the State. At the same time, experience seems to suggest that it is not an easy system to work in practice, for it is in truth only English-speaking peoples who have so far made a conspicuous success of it. Hence we see what is undoubtedly the outstanding movement in world politics today—namely, a movement away from the middle power of Parliamentary government in the direction of one of those more extreme political ideologies—Fascism on the one hand, Communism on the other hand—in each case involving a degree of control over the individual which to us, with our innate love of liberty, is repugnant.

It is no doubt the fact that there are special difficulties in the way of establishing a system of this kind in India, difficulties arising largely out of the lack of homogeneity on the part of the population with its multitudinous tongues, warring creeds, and, last but not least, the wide gulf which exists between the level of civilization of its most advanced and

most backward community, and there are many other difficulties of a similar character upon which it would be easy to enlarge, but it is not my purpose today to enlarge upon these difficulties, rather would I dwell for a moment or two upon another aspect of the problem—viz, the attitude of mind of a large part of Nationalist India towards the perfectly sincere attempts which we are making to meet their very legitimate political aspirations. The nature of the Constitution is still a plank in the platform of the National Congress, and the very Parliaments which are functioning under the Constitution—at any rate in those Provinces in which the Congress has a majority in the Legislature—have been passing resolutions, in spite of the fact that they are functioning successfully under the Constitution, declaring it to be wholly unacceptable to them. Indeed, the strange idea seems to be prevalent that in framing the Constitution we have been actuated by some sinister ulterior motive. Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that I could disabuse the minds of all those who harbour it of any such idea, for it is wholly devoid of foundation.

I am not for a moment attempting to apportion responsibility for the existence of this unhappy state of affairs. It may well be that we have misunderstood at times the Indian point of view as greatly as they have misunderstood ours. Let me, if I may, try to give point to this aspect of the situation as I see it. There is in the philosophical literature of India a metaphysical conception termed “Maya”—a form of cosmic hallucination, which causes men to see things as other than in fact they are—and just as—to make use of an illustration which is to be found frequently in Sanskrit—Maya causes a man to mistake a rope for a snake, so in the main of our relations with India does it cause men to mistake good intentions for sinister designs. And just as it is the constant endeavour of the students of this form of philosophy to rend aside the veil of Maya in order that they may see things as they are, so should it be the supreme endeavour of all those who are conscious of the vital importance of the relations between East and West to dispel the dark cloud which seems to have settled upon the relations between the British and the Indian people.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may say that all this is rather far-fetched, that it is little relative to the toast which I am proposing. Believe me that that is not so. The process of attacking the cause of hallucination—the “avidya,” to make use of the Sanskrit term—has been well begun, and I have no hesitation in affirming that as a result of the working of the Constitution there is not a minister in any Province in India, be he a member of Congress or not, who has not already qualified profoundly the view of the attitude of the Governor of his Province towards his aspirations, nor is there a Governor of a Province who is not acquiring a new orientation of his outlook and a fresh inspiration in working with his Ministers. To no one is greater gratitude due for the improvement which is noticeable in this direction than to Lord and Lady Brabourne for their service in Bombay during the past four years.

They are about to take up the torch and to carry it forward in another part of India. I myself have an abiding affection for the people of Bengal, and it is because that is so that I have persuaded Lord Brabourne to take

up the reins of office when they are laid down there by Sir John Anderson. The people of Bengal will bid farewell to Sir John Anderson with feelings of profound regret, for he has rendered devoted service to them and with unerring instinct has placed his finger upon one of the root causes of their present discontent and has striven unceasingly to better their economic lot, and we may be certain that his labours for them will long live enshrined in the memories of the people. But with equal warm-heartedness they will welcome his successor, happy in the knowledge based upon his record in the sister Presidency that Lord and Lady Brabourne will identify themselves with them in all their interests in life—political, economic, and, since in India as elsewhere men do not live by bread alone, æsthetic—that they will share with them their pride in their achievement during the long ages of a venerable past, and share with them their ambition to lay hold of those opportunities which are now opening up before them, to lift their eyes and cast their gaze in high expectancy along the ever-expanding vista of the future.

Your Highness, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, I offer to Lord and Lady Brabourne our warmest good wishes for success in the task to which they are about to lay their hands. We wish them *bon voyage* and a happy and successful time in Bengal.

LORD BRABOURNE, who was warmly cheered on rising, said: My wife and I are more than grateful to you, sir, for your much too kind remarks about us this afternoon, to the members of the East India Association and of the Royal Empire Society for the signal honour they are doing us at this great luncheon today, and most grateful also for the good wishes so charmingly expressed by Lord Zetland, and so very nicely accepted by you, ladies and gentlemen. Those good wishes will go with us and we will remember them with gratitude when we sail one week from today.

I would also like to thank each individual member of the Associations who have gathered here, and, if I may digress for one moment, I would like to say how very delighted both my wife and I are to see here this afternoon several of our old friends from East Kent, ex constituents, whether they voted for me in the past, or not, I do not know, but it is a very nice feeling to us to see them round these tables. And finally in our thanks I want to express my real appreciation to Sir Frank Brown for all the trouble he has taken in organizing this luncheon.

I hope you will forgive me if I use an Army term and say how extraordinarily fortunate I have been during my four years in India in my commanding officers. When I first went out in 1933 I had here, as Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, and in India, Lord Willingdon—Sir Samuel Hoare, whose Parliamentary Private Secretary I had been, and to whom I feel eternally grateful for having given me an early opportunity for making many contacts and friendships at the Third Round Table Conference which have been of inestimable help to both of us during our time in Bombay. To Lord Willingdon we owe so much for his guidance, tolerance, and his many kindnesses to us during the early days—and to turn to today, we have Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow. Although it

would not be right for me to make any remarks about Lord Zetland, he knows pretty well what they would be if I could make them, for he knows how grateful I am for the help he is giving to all of us Governors in India at present. It is going to make my task doubly difficult when I realize that he knows the Province of Bengal extraordinarily well, and is in such very close contact with it, as no doubt he is all the time

If I may come for one moment to Lord Linlithgow, I would like to say how very much—looking back over the last months—I feel that the successful introduction of this great experiment which is being carried out in India at the present moment is due to the wise guidance and great political flair which Lord Linlithgow has shown and the great help which he has given only too readily to us Governors and to the great political leaders of India whenever that guidance and help has been asked for. I look forward with the greatest of pleasure to going back to India today week to serve once again under my two commanding officers, Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow

Both of us look back upon our four years in Bombay with the greatest of pleasure. It was a wonderfully happy time, we made many friendships which will last for the rest of our lives, and we found many new interests in that great country

Particularly I would like to mention the great debt which I acknowledge to the Services of India in the Bombay Presidency, for all they have done for me during my four years. I will not go into details, or mention any particular Service, but I do want to say here in public that the last few months, which have been somewhat trying at times for the Services, have added very greatly to the long list of laurels which those Services have so rightly earned

I would also like to express my thanks to the various Ministries with which I have had the pleasure of working—pre-April 1, under the old Constitution, particularly my debt to Sir Robert Bell, whom I hoped to find here today, but who is at the present moment in Nyasaland on a mission for the Government. Then, when April 1 came, and Congress did not accept office at the beginning, I particularly want to put on record my thanks to Sir D. B. Cooper, who came forward and formed a Government at very short notice on that day. Sir D. B. Cooper stepped into the breach knowing full well what it meant. He laid himself open to great attack by political parties, he knew his task would only be a temporary one, but he took it in hand and carried it out in a way that really deserves the gratitude of everyone interested in the success of the new Constitution

When I come to the Congress Ministry, with whom I worked for the last three months I was in India, I would like to say that I thoroughly enjoyed working with them. My late Prime Minister, Mr. Kher, and his colleagues were most charming to work with, and I look back upon that period with gratitude to them for their consideration and help, for their readiness, at all times, to see my point of view on the rare occasions when we did not completely coincide. I will not weary you in looking back over the last four years, but I would like to mention the great mill strike in Bombay in 1934 which led to further legislation from the labour point of

view and to the appointment of a Government Labour Officer I would mention my gratitude to Lord Willingdon for the way he encouraged me. Most people with whom I discussed it said, "That is all very well, but what can one man do among 120,000 mill hands?" Lord Willingdon said, "Never you mind about that you go ahead with it, and good luck to you." That legislation, passed in 1934, has made Bombay comparatively peaceful in the labour world from then to now, and it is of particular interest for me to realize that the present Government in Bengal is beginning to turn its attention to something of the same sort.

From there I would like to skip straightaway to last winter, when we had those most regrettable and unfortunate communal riots in Bombay, so that I may express my gratitude to the Army for the assistance they so readily gave to any of us who called for assistance. During that unfortunate period on not one single occasion was any single man called upon to take active action, but the Army did a great deal of patrolling and much to restore confidence.

When the riots first broke out, as is the case with most Governors, we were bombarded by letters and telegrams from all over the place telling us how to run our job, and one of the first telegrams I received after the riots began was one which said, "Please call out the troops at once." It came from a gentleman who has taken a most active part in attacking the British Army in India for the last few years, and who takes every opportunity to try to get the British troops in India reduced. I have kept the telegram and hope to show it to him on some future occasion.

Let me now come to the negotiations which took place at the end of March on the question of forming a Government, and the negotiations I had with the Congress Leader, Mr Kher, of Bombay. You know how certain demands were made of us Governors which could not be agreed to under the Constitution, but nevertheless I have a very strong conviction that that delay from the middle of March to the middle of July was not wasted, because it did enable the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and some Governors, in the course of speeches, to clear up a little of the doubts which were very genuinely in the minds of Congress leaders in India. There was a great feeling of uncertainty at the time, as Lord Zetland has said, as to our intentions, and when we came to the middle of July when the negotiations started again, in my interviews then I at once found that a large number of those doubts had already disappeared. One thing which is even more striking is that actual experience of the working of the Act is clearing up those doubts and difficulties at a remarkable speed. I remember so well both in March and July, in my discussions with Mr Kher, telling him, "Don't worry about the attitude of the Services." I kept on hearing from him and other friends of mine acting as go-betweens between me and Congress leaders, that Congress was worried about the attitude of the I.C.S. and the Police. I assured him that he would find the Services of India only too prepared to help him as loyally as they had helped me in the past provided they realized that he meant well by them. It was an extraordinary encouragement for me to find, as time went on towards the time of my departure, signs that this was beginning to be realized, and often

Mr Kher has said to me that the words I spoke to him earlier in the year had been only too correct, and he was glad to acknowledge it. The same might be said the other way round, that there was at that time some uncertainty in the minds of the Services of what the change would mean to them, and I would pay a tribute to the Services for the broadminded way in which they accepted the change, and for the loyal way in which they are giving their services today as in the past.

I am so certain that the one hope for India and for the new Constitution is more and more close co-operation between the Ministers of today and the Services, and to get that it is so essential that what has started so well should be continued—namely, that we should have a clean slate. I should like to appeal today, in case these words of mine should come to the eyes of my friends in India, to forget possible antagonisms of days gone by, very likely purely personal differences, do forget them, let us have a clean slate and go ahead together in the great work that lies ahead of the Ministers and the Services in India. That the problems are great, it does not need me to stand up and tell you. As a Governor under the new Constitution one is very much in the position of sitting there and hearing and seeing both sides, and there is one point I would like to emphasize, and I hope that if this at any time comes to the eyes or ears of my friends in Congress that they will not misunderstand me. I hope that they will realize that I am only saying it because of my intense anxiety to see that the experiment works well. I appeal to the Congress leaders of today in India not to make their task even more difficult than it is already by trying to administer the whole of India as one province. Each Province has its own particular problems, and if an attempt is made to pass legislation and to take administrative action, treating them all as one, it is going to make their task much harder than it is. For example, the question of prohibition is the order of the day in India and has already started on a small scale in certain Provinces, but whereas in Bombay the excise revenue is one-quarter of the revenue of the whole Province, in Bengal it is only about 10 per cent, which shows the difficulty which lies ahead if it is attempted to speed up prohibition on exactly the same programme in Provinces where it is on the one hand 25 per cent. and on the other much less.

With regard to the labour situation, I know practically nothing of the situation in Calcutta, but I do know it in Bombay. If an attempt is made to run the labour side of India as if it were all one province, great difficulties and dangers lie ahead. For the past four years Bombay has had comparative peace. The present Congress Ministry is anxious to do everything possible for labour. Owing to the help of Gulzarilal Nandar, who ran the Labour Union of Ahmedabad and who worked under Mahatma Gandhi for many years, and who is now working for the Government, the outlook, provided they carry on wisely, is good.

I would like to say how very grateful we are to our friends in Bombay, and the best thing we can wish our successors is that they should have as happy a time there during their term of office as we have had.

I have just said how happy we were in Bombay, that we will ever have a happier time I doubt, but I can assure you that both of us are going out

with the absolute determination to have just as happy a time in Bengal as in Bombay. We have already many good friends in Calcutta, and we look forward enormously to increasing their number very largely.

I realize only too well the magnitude of the task which has been entrusted to me in Bengal, I realize only too well the differences in the problems that lie ahead of us from those of Bombay. I have been doing my best during the five weeks I have been at home to get in touch with people here who have been more than helpful in explaining problems political, economic—and jute—but the fact remains that we are going out fully conscious of what lies ahead of us, and above all I realize what it means to succeed a man like Sir John Anderson. I should like to underline what Lord Zetland has said. One hears most things in India in Bombay—it is not called “The Gateway to India” for nothing, most of the gossip comes there sooner or later. I have yet to meet one single person coming from Bengal who has not had the highest praise which it is possible to use about an individual for the present Governor.

Once again, may I thank you very much indeed for the honour which you have done us this afternoon. I have spent the last five weeks here in England and it has given me a fleeting opportunity of seeing our two boys for a few days. That is one of the drawbacks of living out of England—one does not see one's family—but with perfect truth can I say that both of us are looking forward immensely to sailing today week to play once more a small part in that great experiment which is being carried out in India, in the hope that in playing that part we may possibly be of some slight service to that great country of which we have become so fond during the last four years.

SIR ARCHIBALD WEIGALL, Chairman of the Royal Empire Society, proposed the toast of “The Chairman,” to which Lord Zetland briefly replied

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ĪRĀN

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K C I E

THE subject on which I have the privilege to address you today may well seem large and out of proportion to the allowance of time which regard for your patience and pressing tasks on my part prescribe. So I may at once refer to the personal considerations which determined my choice of it. The invitation from your Honorary Secretary, my old and valued friend, reached me towards the close of the latest of a succession of archæological journeys which have taken me for the last five years through the whole length of Southern Īrān. But of this journey I have had already occasion quite recently to give an account in a lecture before the Royal Asiatic and Royal Central Asian Societies. On the other hand, my thoughts can never be far away from that North-West Frontier, the Panjāb and Kashmir, the region in which I have spent so many happy years of my semi-nomadic life. It is indeed that border region which attracted me in my early boyhood, which led to the Sanskrit studies of my youth, and in which I was fortunate enough in due course to find what I may call my cherished Indian homeland.

The work which I was able to carry on there for close on fifty years, and I may say with a sense of deep gratitude, for the most part under the generous auspices of the Indian Government, has been mainly archæological. Its aim was, as it must be of all antiquarian labours, to help to throw light on the historical past of that region. Our written records of that past are, alas, very scanty and in inverse proportion to the interest of the ground. But to quote the just words of a great strategist and student of history: "The locality is the surviving portion of reality of an event that has long passed by. It often restores to clearness the picture which history has preserved in half-effaced outlines." So before presenting to you briefly what scattered records and ancient remains allow us to restore of the early relations between

India and Īrān in the broadest outlines, I may ask you to take a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the borderlands which witnessed those relations. We may thus see more clearly how geographical factors have here, as elsewhere also, played a determinant part in historical developments and the interchange of cultural influences.

THE BORDERLANDS

It has been my good fortune to gain personal acquaintance with these Indo-Iranian borderlands as far as they lie within the political boundaries of India and Persia, from the Pamirs right down to the shores of the Arabian Sea. The ground on the Afghān side has, indeed, remained closed to me for scholarly enterprise, in spite of the kind interest which three enlightened Viceroys were pleased to show in my endeavours. But the gap thus left in my range of direct observation need not affect the summary sketch here presented of the region comprising those borderlands.

It may briefly be described as stretching from the Hindukush range in its widest sense in the north down to the Arabian Sea. In the east it extends to the Indus, the great river which has given to India its foreign name, significantly enough Iranian in its derivation. From Classical times to the present day its western limit is roughly defined by a line which approximately coincides in the north with the present frontier between Afghānistān and Persia, and in the south with that between British and Persian Makrān. The vast region thus defined includes the North-West Frontier Province and British Balūchistān as well as the whole of Afghānistān, with the exception of Afghān Turkistān, the ancient Bactria. But even this territory, though it does not adjoin proper Indian ground, has yet at certain times in the past played its part in the historical and cultural relations between India and Īrān.

In the region which has been the scene of these relations we have on geographical grounds to distinguish three well-defined zones. The northernmost may be roughly described as comprising mainly the high mountain spurs and great valleys which descend from the Hindukush range to the south and discharge their drainage by the Kābul river into the Indus. None of these

valleys, with the exception of that of the Kābul river itself, could ever have served for any great ethnic movement between east and west or for any important interchange of cultural influences. High mountains divide them, and beyond, to the east, the gorges of the Indus, together with the Himalayan ranges girding and defending Kashmir, provide an effective barrier. Difficult of access and containing but very limited areas of cultivable land, those valleys seem to have been destined by nature to serve as retreats for tribes which stronger ones have dispossessed of more fertile lands.

There is an ethnological and quasi-historical interest attaching to these tribes in Kafiristān, Chitrāl, Darēl, etc. The Dardic dialects spoken by them belong to that Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family which comprises both the Indo-Aryan or Sanskritic tongues of India and the Iranian languages spoken in Persia and in valleys on both sides of the Oxus. To the so-called Galcha tribes in the latter hill tracts they are closely related also by their *Homo Alpinus* type of race. There is strong reason to believe that this population of Dardic speech once extended much farther south than it does now. The process of withdrawal is still observed at the present day, for everywhere to the north of the Kābul river and of Swāt the Dardic dialects are steadily giving way before the Pashtu of the virile Pathāns, the latest invaders from the side of Īrān of the region to the west of the Indus.

THE "GATE OF INDIA"

A different rôle has been assigned by geography to the valley of the Kābul river. With its fertile tracts at its head around Kābul, lower down about Jalālābād, and where it finally expands into the wide plain of the Peshawar district, this great valley has been destined by nature to serve as a main highway into Northern India. Not without good reason has the famous pass of the Khyber, through which the great caravan route from Kābul descends to Peshawar, been called the "Gate of India." All through historical times it has seen successful invasions pass down here to the conquest, whether temporary or lasting, of the plains

of the Panjāb and Hindustān Since Alexander's main force proceeded from the side of Kābul to the Peshawar valley and the Indus, none of the great military enterprises following this natural highway has ever failed before the guarding of this gate passed to the British But it is by no means the only gate, and where large ethnic movements of the past are concerned its importance may be greatly over-estimated

Certain, however, it is that in the opposite direction it was mainly through the Peshawar valley, the ancient Gandhāra, and its continuation westward that Indian culture, as conveyed in Buddhist doctrine, literature, and art, extended its influence into Afghānistān and beyond it into Central Asia This was particularly the case during the centuries immediately before and after the commencement of the Christian era And here passing reference must be made to the valley of the Swāt river, the last great tributary of the Kābul river This rich and climatically favoured valley, well deserving the ancient name of *Udyāna* ("the garden"), as an old "learned etymology" called it, was since early times famous as a *terra sacra* for Buddhist cult As such the old Chinese pilgrims knew it, and its abundant Buddhist ruins still attest this nowadays Here, too, the original Dardic population has been pushed back far into the mountains by the advance of Pathān tribes, the latest of Iranian invasions in these parts

THE WAY BY KANDAHĀR

We must now turn in our rapid sketch to the second great zone of the Indo-Iranian borderlands On physical grounds and in view of the cultural and political conditions governed by them it may be roughly described as extending on the east from the Safid-kōh range, overlooking the Kābul river valley, as far south as the old highway which leads from Kandahār across the Khōjak and Bolān passes down to Sind on the lower Indus Here, for a direct distance of close on 400 miles, we find a comparatively narrow strip of cultivable plain along the right bank of the Indus adjoined on the west by the hill chains of Wazīristān and by the Takht-i-Sulaimān range Beyond these lie wide uplands stretching from south of Kābul past Ghazna as far as Kandahār

Occupation of this great belt must all through the ages have been confined for the most part to hardy semi-nomadic peoples like the present Wazīrs, Ghilzais, and other Pashtu-speaking tribes along the Indo-Afghān border. For climatic conditions greatly restrict irrigation such as sustained agriculture here needs, but for pastoral pursuits they provide adequate scope.

The very limited economic resources of this ground must always have bred predatory habits in a sturdy semi-nomadic race such as the tribes of Iranian speech which occupy it at present. Raids such as used to threaten the settled population along the right bank of the Indus from Wazīrs and others down to our own days are bound to have been known to earlier periods also. Spasmodic incursions of this kind are likely to have varied in frequency and extent according to the strength or otherwise of the régime prevailing in the settled riverine tracts. But apart from them there is good reason to believe that the convenient access which the Kurram, Tōchi, Gumal, and other valleys provide from those uplands to the fertile plains by the Indus, must have always facilitated successful invasions or gradual penetration. The span of recorded history is too short to permit us adequately to gauge the changes thus brought about in the population of the Panjāb by migrations from that trans-border region.

A very different picture is presented to us by the western portion of the zone with which we are concerned. By its chief geographical feature it may be described as comprising the drainage area of the Helmand river and its great terminal basin, Sīstān. Kandahār, the city from which the above-mentioned ancient highway into India starts, lies in a fertile tract between the Arghandāb and Tarnak rivers, tributaries of the Helmand. It probably marks the site of the capital of ancient *Harahvasti* or *Arachosia*, as the territory on the upper Helmand was known in Classical times to Persians and Greeks respectively. That it was since an early historical period a border province between Irān and India can safely be concluded, on the one hand, from its mention in the Avestic list of Iranian lands and, on the other, from the designation of "White India" under which it figures in late Classical accounts.

THE HELMAND RIVER

The great expanse of high mountain spurs and narrow valleys which stretches to the north and north-west of Kandahār as far as the head-waters of the Helmand and the Hari-rūd, the river of Herāt, has never played an important part in the political and cultural relations of India and Īrān. Its character as a kind of economic and ethnic backwater is illustrated by the fact that ever since Timūr's great invasion it has remained mainly a resort of the semi-nomadic Mongolian tribes of Hazāra. Where the Helmand river below Kandahār flows in a huge bend to the south-west towards the Sistān basin, both its banks are adjoined by vast areas of sandy or bare clayey desert. It is the waterless nature of the great deserts here traversed by the Helmand which accounts for the importance which the narrow riverine belt along it has claimed as a safe passage for large tribal or military movements.

But before the Helmand terminates in the great marshes or Hāmūns of Sistān its abundant waters carry fertility to a wide belt of ground. This, owing to its considerable agricultural resources, must always have very closely affected migrations or campaigns directed towards India from Īrān. Sistān, or Drangiana, as it was known in Alexander's time, from the Old Persian designation of its population (the "Lake-dwellers," *Zarankā*), has always, as far as our historical records reach back, formed an integral part of Īrān. Here tradition located the homeland of those Kayanian kings and that great hero Rustam around whom cluster the chief epic legends of Īrān. Yet the very name of Sistān, derived from *Sakastanē*, the later Classical designation of the province, must remind us that the Iranian tribe of the Sakas, who established themselves here after leaving Turkistān about the second century B.C., were destined to provide rulers for centuries over wide territories of Western India.

The briefest reference will suffice here to the tracts, partly oases partly desert, which stretch north from Sistān to the Hari-rūd and Herāt, the chief place along it. They form the province which the Greeks called *Areia*, from the name *Haraiwa* it bears in the Avesta and the Old-Persian inscriptions of Darius. This territory

was far removed from any direct contact with the Indian marches. But through it passed the most practicable line of advance towards the latter—just as it would now—from the north-east of Persia or the great plains of Turkistān beyond it. We know that Alexander followed this line on his way to Arachosia and the Paropanisus, or Hindukush, above Kābul before his invasion of the Panjāb. Considering the desert nature of most of the ground in that portion of Khorāsān which lies west of Sistān, it may be safely assumed that the route passing through Arcia or Herāt served also as the chief artery for whatever trade or other peaceful traffic linked the Panjāb with the great centres of Persia.

THE MAKRĀN AREA

It is time now for us to cast a rapid glance at the third and southernmost zone of the Indo-Iranian border region with which we are concerned. It lies to the south of the old highway which links Kandahār, the ancient Arachosia, with Sind on the lower Indus. Apart from the comparatively narrow belt of plain along the right bank of the Indus it corresponds to ancient Gedrosia, the poorest and least known of the provinces of the Achæmenian Empire. Politically it coincides in the east with the present Kalāt State, including British Makrān, and in the west with Persian Makrān. Within an area extending close on 500 miles from east to west and some 270 miles across, we find here a succession of barren mountain ranges. They extend in parallel curves with a general direction from north-east to south-west and gradually decrease in height as they approach the Arabian sea-coast. In the north there adjoins the sandy desert of the Helmand basin, and within there lie the equally barren if smaller drainageless basins of Khārān and Bampūr. The valleys intervening between the utterly sterile hill ranges are almost equally arid and hold rare scattered oases only where irrigation over small stretches of ground is possible. The extreme dryness of the climate permits only of the scantiest population, scarcely two souls per square mile within British territory and beyond it probably even less. The consequent want of local resources accounts for the sufferings and losses which attended the disastrous march of the force taken

by Alexander through Gedrosia. It equally beset also the voyage of his fleet along the forbidding coast of the Ikhthyophagoi, or "fish-eaters."

THE VEDIC HYMNS

However sketchy the acquaintance may be which we have gained in the course of this rapid survey of the border region between India and Īrān, it will make it easier for us to try and understand what information can be gleaned from our, alas, scanty materials as to the earliest developments and events which it witnessed. History in the true sense does not dawn upon the relations between India and Īrān until the middle of the sixth century B.C., when Cyrus, the founder of the great Persian Empire, extended his vast dominion to Gandhāra, including the whole Kābul valley.

For earlier periods, which must be counted prehistoric, we had until recent years to rely mainly upon what indications could be gathered from the hymns of the R̥gveda, the earliest literary product of Indian civilization and the oldest textual record to be found in the whole range of Indo-European languages. They have been preserved by tradition, entirely oral for centuries, with a care and formal precision which has no equal among the world's literatures. Since the study of that great collection of sacred hymns on critical lines was started more than a hundred years ago by great Sanskrit scholars in the West, it has yielded abundant information on the religious beliefs, cults, customs, social conditions, etc., prevailing among the earliest Aryan people settled in India.

I enjoyed the good fortune of becoming familiar with those ancient hymns at the very beginning of my philological training under the guidance of that great pioneer of Vedic studies, Professor Rudolf von Roth, fifty-six years ago. So there would be a distinct temptation for me here to review in retrospect the widely varying views held as to the period to which the composition of the older R̥gveda hymns may be assigned. To leave aside more speculative estimates, they have varied from the fifteenth to the eighth century B.C. But if in the absence of any definite chronological evidence no consensus on this question can be expected at

present, anyhow, there can be no doubt as to the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic period having been closely related in language and ethnic origin to those Aryans who gave their name to Īrān

The language of the Vedic hymns shows nearest affinity with that of the Avesta, the sacred code of the Zoroastrian creed of Īrān. This applies particularly to its oldest portion, the Gāthās, which contain the utterances of Zoroaster, its founder. This justifies the inference that those who spoke that eastern Iranian language in its oldest accessible form, and to whom Zoroaster's teaching was directly addressed, had been in near contact at one time with those Aryans among whom the hymns of the Rīgveda were composed. Zoroaster's date cannot as yet be considered as definitely determined, nor do his own Gāthās furnish any distinct indication of where he was born or preached. But other Avestic texts clearly prove early acquaintance with localities which belong to the region of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Thus the list of Iranian territories given in the first chapter of the Vendidad includes not merely *Haraēva*, Herāt, and the "*Haētumant* country," or Sīstān, but also the Hapta-hindava, corresponding to the *Sapta sindhavah*, or "Seven Rivers," of the Rīgveda. More significant still it is that in the Yashts, metric texts embodying much popular lore of Īrān, largely pre-Zoroastrian, we find mention made of *Pisīnah*, the present Pīshīn valley near Quetta, of localities which betoken familiarity with mountain tracts about Kābul and Peshawar as well as close acquaintance with smaller rivers of the Helmand basin.

There is no need to discuss here these interesting geographical indications, especially as I had occasion to deal with them in some detail when treating of the sacred Soma plant which has played an important part from very early times both in the Vedic ritual and in Zoroastrian cult. Instead I may turn at once to the definite geographical evidence which can be gathered from the hymns of the Rīgveda as to the Aryan invaders of Northern India having been familiar with a considerable portion of the borderland along the present North-West Frontier long before they settled in the Panjāb, the "Land of the Five Rivers," where the bulk of those hymns was composed.

In a famous hymn of the R̥gveda (x 75) all the rivers of the Panjāb are mentioned in correct sequence from east to west from the Sutlej (Śutudru) right up to the *Kubhā*, the Kābul river. Together with them we find named the *Krumu* and *Gomaṭī*, corresponding to the present Kurram and Gumal. Now these are both comparatively small rivers, except when sudden spates fill their beds, and their mention suggests such acquaintance with Wazīristān and the adjacent valleys drained by them as only a recollection of their prolonged occupation by Aryan tribes in an early period is likely to account for. To the same conclusion points also the incidental mention in the R̥gveda of two other small rivers of this border tract, the *Harīyūpā* and *Yavyāvātī*. It has long ago been recognized that phonetic derivatives of their names are borne by the present Hariōb and Zhōb, the one a tributary of the Kurram and the other an affluent of the Gumal.

We have an indication further to west of the line which the Aryan invaders of India are likely to have followed. I refer to the Avestic name of the river *Harahvati*, the present Arghand-āb, the Arachōtos of the Greeks. This tributary of the Helmand has given its Old-Persian name to the fertile tract of Kandahār through which it flows, and the Greeks accordingly called it Arachosia. *Harahvati* is the exact equivalent of the Vedic river name *Sarasvatī*, which prominently figures in the R̥gveda hymns, with that regular phonetic change of *s* into *h* which distinguishes the Avestic language from Vedic Sanskrit. Whether any of the passages of the R̥gveda, naming the *Sarasvatī*, actually refers to the *Harahvati*-Arghandāb, as has been supposed by some scholars, is doubtful. But the relation of the Avestic and Vedic river names is so close as to make it appear very probable that we have here a case of that transfer of river names which has been very common in the *topographia sacra* of India all through the ages.

THE ARYAN INVADERS

The ground we have touched here quite apart from its ancient designation has a distinct interest for the question concerning the migration which brought the Vedic Aryans into India. If we examine geographical conditions over the whole of the wide

region previously surveyed we must realize that there is no portion of it offering greater facilities for a great ethnic movement towards the Indian north-west than the valley of the Helmand and its northern affluents taken as a whole. From the old highway across the Khōjak and Bolān passes right up to the Kābul-Khyber line it gives access to a wide stretch of ground with quite a series of routes which would conveniently serve for a gradual advance of semi-nomadic tribes to the fertile plains on and beyond the Indus.

We may never know for certain from which side the Indo-Iranian border region was first entered by the then perhaps still undivided Aryan people. But whether their migration brought them from the open plains of what is now Russian Turkistān in the north or through Persia in the west, it is clear that the wide belt of open ground along Herāt, Sīstān, and the Helmand valley on account of its physical conditions would have provided the easiest passage for expansion. Migration from the north-west is what the prevailing theory assumes for the move which separated the Aryan branch from the rest of the peoples speaking Indo-European languages. The fact that in a later period also Iranian tribes like the Sakas are still found in the region of the Oxus seems to support this assumption. But another line of migration, that from the west, cannot be ruled out altogether, since the discovery made in Hittite inscriptions of the fourteenth century B.C. has shown that divinities prominent in the hymns of the R̥igveda were worshipped and certain Vedic words used by people settled in the Mitanni country adjacent to Northern Mesopotamia.

When so much as regards the period which saw the first arrival of Aryan tribes in the Indo-Aryan border region must remain conjectural, we must feel all the more grateful for the light which archæological discoveries of recent years have thrown upon a far earlier prehistoric civilization in those parts. These discoveries have been made mainly in the last, and at first sight perhaps least promising, of the zones distinguished in our preceding survey.

They were due in the first place and chiefly to the extensive and most fruitful excavations which were conducted since 1922 under Sir John Marshall's direction at the great site of Mohenjo-daro

near the right bank of the Indus in Sind. The abundant remains brought to light from the ruins of a great prehistoric settlement revealed a highly advanced culture having flourished there in chalcolithic times. Ceramic wares and other relics of Mohenjo-daro from the start showed unmistakable affinity to corresponding antiquities of the earliest strata at Susa and other chalcolithic sites of ancient Elam. Through the discovery at Susa and at a few Mesopotamian sites of some seals engraved with characters of the as yet undeciphered "Indus Valley" script, as well as by other collateral evidence, it became possible for Sir John Marshall to determine that the ruins unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, and subsequently also at the similar site of Harappa far up in the Western Panjāb, date from a period comprising approximately the first and second quarters of the third millennium B.C. Through Sir John Marshall's and his collaborators' monumental publication the characteristics of the early "Indus civilization" have become widely known. It will hence suffice here to touch only in the briefest way upon a few essential points.

The comparatively high standard of material civilization attained there is attested by the solid construction of the houses, provided with baths, hypocausts, drains, etc., and the lay-out of paved streets. Metal crafts were fully developed and artistic skill displayed in small sculptures and engraved seals. Painted pottery of a superior kind is common. But perhaps the most striking discovery is the proof of the great antiquity of religious notions quite different from those of the earliest Vedic texts. They are manifestly pre-Aryan, but still predominant in the popular cults of India. Evidence of this is furnished by numerous objects, peculiar to Indian forms of worship, such as the Linga and Yoni and representations of the sacred bull, a Sivaitic god, the Śakti or mother goddess.

EXPEDITIONS OF 1927 AND 1928

It became obviously an important archæological task to trace the connection between this "Indus civilization" and the chalcolithic culture of those early sites in the Near East to which it was manifestly related. The systematic excavation of a small but very

interesting chalcolithic cemetery carried out by Mr Hargreaves in 1925 at Nāl, in the Kalāt State, showed what reward might await a more extensive search to the west of the Indus. Already, in 1916, at the close of my third Central Asian expedition, I had come at wind-eroded sites of the Sīstān desert upon painted pottery showing unmistakable relationship to chalcolithic ware both of Susa and of Anau in Transcaspiā. Thus the task of searching for other links between those earliest known cultures of India and Īrān, using the latter term in its widest sense, across the vast and as yet archæologically unexplored region intervening between the Indus valley and the head of the Persian Gulf, made a special quasi-personal appeal to me.

I was fortunately enabled to carry out this task as far as the westernmost border of British territory by two long expeditions undertaken in the years 1927 and 1928 on behalf of the Indian Archæological Survey. Their results have been fully recorded in my reports "An Archæological Tour in Wazīrīstān and Northern Balūchīstān" and "An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia," and only briefest reference to them need be made here.

The first of those two journeys allowed me to trace and test by trial excavations a considerable number of prehistoric sites, first along the foot of the Wazīrīstān hills overlooking the Indus and then in the valleys of Zhōb and Pishīn within Northern Balūchīstān. On the second journey, covering a still more extensive area in British Makrān, I was able to discover and survey remains of chalcolithic settlements at close on four score sites right up to the Persian frontier on the shore of the Arabian Sea. Trial excavations at the most important of all the sites scattered over an area of roughly 650 miles from north-east to south-west and some 250 miles across where widest in the south, proved the essential unity of the civilization which existed during chalcolithic times in this great portion of the border region between India and Īrān. At a number of sites the great height of the mounds, together with the uniform character of the finds in their debris layers, proved prolonged occupation during this period. At some sites the abundance of terra-cotta figurines of the Brahmanī bull and the mother goddess seemed to indicate the extension of a cult

similar to that proved for Mohenjo-daro and essentially Indian as far west as the present Perso-Indian frontier

But of still greater interest perhaps in its general and geographical bearing is the fact that many of those sites are found on ground where the great aridity of the climate coupled with the inadequacy or total absence of surface water would nowadays preclude regular cultivation and the existence of considerable settled communities Yet such are definitely indicated at a number of sites by ruins marking small towns with stone-built houses, etc

Plentiful evidence is thus afforded of Makrān and probably most of Balūchistān having in chalcolithic times, say, in the fourth and third millennia B C, been less arid than it now is This observation has its special interest in connection with the much-discussed question of "desiccation" If this has been local, as I am inclined to believe in parts of Central Asia also, it may here well be accounted for by some change in the direction and extent of the south-west monsoon This question can be touched here only in passing But mention must be made of the plain fact that the great hardships and losses suffered by Alexander's troops on their disastrous march from the mouth of the Indus clearly prove the wastes of Gedrosia having been then already as arid as they now are

LATER EXPEDITIONS

Since my retirement from the Indian Archaeological Survey in 1929 I have been able by four successive expeditions, the first two effected with the help of Harvard University and the British Museum and the third with that of the British School in Iraq, to continue my archaeological reconnaissances from the south-western extremity of British Makrān right through the length of Southern Persia to Kurdistān The first of these journeys took me across Persian Makrān, the western portion of the zone with which I have been dealing The observations and finds made here at chalcolithic sites fully bore out the significance of those on the British side of the frontier But curiously enough the terra-cotta figurines pointing to notions of Indian cult were nowhere to be found at such sites The evidence secured by the

explorations of all these journeys in the great provinces of Kermān, Fārs, Khūzistān, Kermānshāh, right up to Kurdistān, left no doubt about an essentially uniform chalcolithic civilization having prevailed wherever physical conditions permitted of settled life

The possibility of peaceful traffic and trade between India and the Near East across Īrān may therefore be assumed even in those early times. But this leaves us still far from any definite clue as to where that prehistoric civilization originally developed, whether Īrān saw its first growth or whether it served then as it so often did in historical times as a kind of clearing-house for cultural influences. Where my travels took me along the shore of the Arabian Sea and the desolate coast of the Persian Gulf, I searched in vain for any relics of a maritime trade in prehistoric times between the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. Yet proofs of maritime intercourse from the early Islamic period onwards were found in abundance. But the subsidence of this coast, as proved by my observations at certain points, deprives this negative evidence of such value as might be attached to it otherwise.

Of all the ethnic movements across the Indo-Iranian border region, the one which brought the Aryan tribes speaking Vedic Sanskrit to the Indus and the Panjāb is bound to have the greatest claim upon our interest owing to the far-reaching and lasting character of its results. It belongs, as we have seen, wholly to prehistory, and unfortunately archæology has up to the present failed to throw light on this period. Nowhere has the ground visited on my journeys yielded remains filling the wide chronological gap between the chalcolithic mounds traced in such abundance and the burial sites found in numerous places of Balūchistān and Makrān which date at the earliest from the last centuries before our era. Not until sites abandoned much later than Mohenjodaro have been explored can we hope to learn of the actual state of civilization prevailing in the Indus valley and beyond at the time of the Aryan invasion. Meanwhile we may be content with what observations as to the physical character of the ground adjoining those fertile plains on the west and historical parallels can teach us.

CHANGING CIVILIZATIONS

Even though that ground may have been less arid about the time of the Aryan conquest than it now is, the limited area capable of cultivation must have caused the invaders while they held it to lead a health-giving semi-nomadic life in the hills. Hardened by it, they are likely to have been tempted to supplement their scanty resources, mainly pastoral, by raids on the settled agricultural people of the plains, just as are their Pathān successors on the present north-west border. That settled population are not likely to have been their equals in virility and physical strength, though probably superior in most things that make up culture. Civilization in the Indus valley by that time may well have sunk below the level which the remains of Mohenjo-daro have disclosed. Civilizations, as we know, are apt to have their ups and downs. But however that may have been, we must in view of subsequent developments credit the race which succumbed to the Aryan invasion with having possessed the same remarkable capacity for absorbing and digesting foreign conquerors as Hinduism has displayed through most historical phases.

This process had, no doubt, far advanced when historical light breaks upon the extreme north-west of India with the conquest by Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) of Gandhāra as recorded by Classical authors. This province forming the eastern limit of the vast empire created by the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty must on geographical grounds be assumed to have included not merely the Peshawar district, to which the term was restricted in later times, but the whole Kābul valley and the territories to the south of it. This conquest was further expanded when Darius, probably after 516 B.C., added the "Indian" province to Gandhāra. This latter is referred to in his inscriptions at Persepolis and Naksh-e-Rustam also under a name corresponding to the *Paropamisus* of the Greeks—i.e., the Hindukush. As the "Indian" province is named by Herodotus as the most populous division of the empire paying the highest annual tribute, it is safe to assume that it included territories on both sides of the Indus down to Sind.

Both Gandharians and "Indians" are named by Herodotus in the list of contingents provided by subject nations for the Persian army which accompanied Xerxes, Darius' successor, on the ill-fated expedition against Greece in 480 B.C. The dress and armaments of Gandharians and "Indians" are described by Herodotus much as these can still be seen among the tribute-bearing figures shown in the fine relievo panels flanking the stairs of the huge terrace which bears the palaces of the Kings of Kings at Persepolis and now, thanks to Professor Herzfeld's excavations, has been completely cleared. As justly stated by the late Professor Rapson, "At no period in early history probably were the means of communication by land more open, or the conditions more favourable for the interchange of ideas between India and the West."

THE PERSIAN SATRAPS

Unfortunately no definite archaeological testimony has so far come to light of the influence which this Persian domination lasting for fully two centuries had exercised in these provinces. Here as elsewhere in the vast dominion of the Achæmenian dynasty direct control must be assumed to have been exercised by Persian Satraps. Their administrative staffs and troops are likely to have been largely recruited from the western portions of the Empire. But there is no reason to believe that the indigenous civilization prevailing in those two provinces was materially affected thereby. From the analogy of what little can be gathered from scattered references to them in the next succeeding period it may be safely concluded that their civilization remained essentially Indian.

We know that Greeks found frequent employment at the imperial court and at the courts of the Persian Satraps. But apart from fragments of the writings of Ktesias, which mainly reproduce folklore stories about India gathered through such channels, nothing has survived of contemporary Greek information relating to this portion of the Achæmenian Empire. On the Indian side we must be content with the fact that Gandhāra is named in very early Sanskrit literature and in Buddhist texts among the countries of India, and that Śālātūra, the traditional birthplace of Pāṇini,

the earliest of the great Sanskrit grammarians, can be safely located at Lāhōr in the Peshawar district

The hold of the later Achæmenian Kings of Kings over these outlying provinces in the east is likely to have gradually slackened. But when Alexander started on his Indian campaign, the most celebrated of all invasions of India and the oldest of which we possess detailed accounts, he found them still forming, nominally at least, a part of the great Persian Empire to which he laid claim as his heritage by the right of conquest. He first approached them on his march towards Bactria through Arcia-Herāt, Drangiana-Sistān, and Arachosia-Kandahār, those territories of the Indo-Iranian border region to which I have referred before as providing the natural highway and base for any great ethnic or military move into India. When Alexander's march brought him from Arachosia or Kandahār across snow-covered uplands to the foot of the "Indian Caucasus"—i.e., the Hindukush—we find that the inhabitants of that territory, also spoken of as people of the Paropamisus, are significantly described by Arrian (*Anabasis*, III, 28) as "the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians."

It was in this territory, corresponding to the present Kābul, that Alexander on his return from the arduous campaigns in Bactria and Sogdiana prepared for the invasion which was to carry him across the Western Panjāb as far as the Beās. To follow the great conqueror there would take us far beyond the region with which we are concerned here. Nor need I deal here with Alexander's hard-fought advance across the mountains to the north of the Kābul river. I have shown elsewhere how it led through the Kūnar valley, Bajaur, and Swāt and, after the memorable capture of the great mountain stronghold of Aornos, ultimately brought him to the Indus. It will be enough to state that the valiant hill tribes with whom the Macedonians had so hard a struggle on this difficult ground are always described by Alexander's historians as Indians. They may well have been Dardic-speaking predecessors of those trans-border Pathāns who have figured so often on the same ground in modern North-West Frontier campaigns.

It has been my good fortune to have been able on this ground

to trace much of Alexander's track to the Indus. Beyond it, too, I could visit scenes both on Indian and Iranian soil which once had witnessed great events of Alexander's wonderful story. But by the Indus we have now reached the limits set for this discourse and interesting as it would be to scan later phases in the history of those marches I must leave it as "another story."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W 1, on Tuesday, November 16, 1937, when a paper entitled "Early Relations between India and Īrān" (illustrated by lantern slides) was read by Sir Aurel Stein, K C I E. The Most Hon the Marquess of Zetland, G C S I, G C I E, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are indeed exceptionally fortunate to have persuaded Sir Aurel Stein to come and deliver a lecture this afternoon upon the "Early Relations between India and Īrān."

I think it is just over a quarter of a century since I had the pleasure of being conducted over the Museum at Peshawar by Sir Aurel Stein and shown round the stupa of King Kanishka somewhere about the year 1911. Before that time Sir Aurel Stein had carried out great journeys of exploration in Central Asia, covering the Takla Makan Desert and surrounding districts. Subsequent to that time he had opportunities of carrying out similar journeys of exploration practically throughout the whole of the country which runs from the Pamirs to the Persian Gulf, with the single exception perhaps of Afghānistān. That great block of territory is one of extraordinary interest, partly because until sea power opened up the broad highway of the ocean, the gateway into India was situated in the rugged defiles of that country. We generally think of the Kābul river valley as the actual gateway into India, but, as Sir Aurel Stein will probably make clear this afternoon, that was not necessarily by any means the only gateway into North-West India. There is, for example, the valley of the Helmand river.

And he will also probably tell us that the geographical features of what is today, I am bound to say (for I have crossed it myself and I know something of it), a very desert tract of country—namely, Balūchistān and British and Persian Makrān—was at one time a very different country, much more fertile, with a much greater rainfall than it has today. In those circumstances it may well be, and discoveries have shown that it probably was the case, that there was a great passage of cultural communication between the peoples of Īrān and the peoples of India along that great tract of territory.

But I must not forestall what the lecturer proposes to say to us. Let me therefore with great pleasure call on Sir Aurel Stein to give us his address. (The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN We have listened to a most interesting lecture on a most interesting part of the world. Happily it does not give rise to controversy in the sense in which we are accustomed to using the word controversy—namely, political controversy. But it is possible it may give rise to some controversy in so far as the conclusions which have been derived by the lecturer from his excavations and his studies are concerned.

I think we have present Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum, and if

so I dare say he might be willing to make some observations on the subject-matter of the lecture

MR SIDNEY SMITH As you will fully appreciate, it is a little difficult to speak on a paper like that of Sir Aurel Stein. It deals with the subject which he has studied during a long lifetime of travel and research, and nobody could be expected to controvert his statements. I have only the right to speak in that in my department are now stored the relics that he has brought back to stay in this country from the journeys of which he has spoken.

The relics, so far as I am concerned, are of that chalcolithic civilization, which he described very rightly as uniform over this enormous tract of country which is Iranian territory. That civilization dates back to a very remote antiquity. He referred to it as being connected with the earliest civilization we know in Susiana. Recent researches both in Mesopotamia and in Western Persia have given us some inkling of the historic relations of the earliest civilization of Susa with actual history, and it seems extremely probable—though the estimation of age must always be a matter of guess-work—that a great deal of pottery which is related to what we call Susa I, the earliest civilization at Susa, goes back to a remote date in the fifth millennium.

You are then dealing with a time which for all practical purposes goes far beyond any kind of history we can ever hope to recover. But Sir Aurel Stein has recovered the tangible proofs of a connection right across Persia from west to east. He has shown you some of the terra-cotta figurines and some of the pottery that he has brought back, and which, owing to the generosity of the Iranian Government, we can keep as examples in this country for the use of European scholars. We owe a debt to the Iranian Government that I should like to underline for this generosity, at a time when other Governments in the Near East are betraying a more curmudgeonous attitude.

It is a remarkable thing that this civilization should be so uniform over so large an area. We must expect from further excavations that we shall find differences. We hope that excavations now being conducted in Western Persia by the French and by the Americans may serve to throw light both on the differences and the uniformity.

But the point where I may perhaps be allowed to introduce a note of controversy—not with Sir Aurel Stein naturally, and also not political—is here: there is nothing being done on the eastern side. Sir Aurel Stein has not mentioned the fact that since Sir John Marshall's excavations there has been one more attempt to throw light on this matter from the side of the Indus valley. Dr Mackay, who was engaged at Mohenjo-daro, was enabled by American enterprise to go out to India again to dig another site at Chanha-daro, containing valuable archaeological evidence of a period later than that represented at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. And there is no doubt in his opinion, and I believe in Sir John Marshall's, that money spent on other sites in the Indus valley would enable us to trace this civilization down to a much later period than we can at present hope to understand from the remains we have.

That is a very serious call, and it is a call that must primarily rest on the Government, central or local or whichever may be responsible, in India. This is not a time when research should be held up for the lack of spending a few hundred pounds in excavation. You may say perhaps, "What right have you to expect that at a time when money is needed for other purposes, more urgent, it should be spent on mere digging, which may not produce results?" My answer would be that we know results must come, because we have an astonishing fact about the seals of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, another queer puzzle which we cannot resolve without further remains dug out by the spade. You have there the amazing fact of a writing found in the Indus valley being found also on seals from sites in Mesopotamia. When Professor Sayce, who first pointed out this resemblance, published it, he was laughed at. It was considered an impossibility that there should be this connection. That deduction has been proved to the hilt by seals that Sir Leonard Woolley and Dr. Frankfort have found since that time. But the seals found in Mesopotamia are not the same seals that are found in India. They are different in form. They have the general form of the Mesopotamian seals, not of the seals of the Indus valley. We can date those seals. They belong to the period between 3000 and 2500 B.C.

Somewhere or other there must be a third centre. Excavation in the Indus valley may yet reveal where that third centre was, and I would urge as strongly as may be that we should all take from Sir Aurel Stein's lecture this one message, that his work entails, requires, necessitates excavation, and especially excavation on the Indus side of the border.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER. It is a great pleasure to all his old friends who are assembled here to see Sir Aurel Stein among us again, and it is a still greater pleasure to find he has come back so hale and hearty from his forty years in the wilderness. I think I can claim to be one of his oldest friends. It is about fifty years since we first met at Lahore, and looking at him today I feel inclined to ask, "How do you keep that school-girl complexion?"

I next met him at Peshawar when he was equipping himself for that famous and memorable expedition into Chinese Turkistān. I helped towards that equipment. I sold him a horse. Thereby hangs a tale. I had bought that horse from a fellow-Irishman—a very foolish thing to do. He was a beautiful Arab to look at, but could neither gallop nor leap, and I wanted him to do both. What was I to do? I sold him to Sir Aurel Stein. I have no doubt, I hope at all events, that he carried Sir Aurel from Peshawar over the roof of the world into Turkistān—but I have never ventured to enquire.

That is thirty-five years ago, and in those thirty-five years of almost unbroken travel, think what Sir Aurel has accomplished, all under the most dreary, dismal conditions in the darkest corners of the world. He has surveyed the world, if not from China to Peru, at least from China to the borders of Arabia. He has thrown fresh light on some of the most difficult problems of history, ethnology, and archaeology. He has made the past live again. He has gained a world-wide reputation, not only for the extent and the thoroughness of his investigations, but for their scientific accuracy.

We have had ample proof of it here this afternoon, when the representative of the British Museum has told us he could not challenge anything Sir Aurel Stein has put forward

Therefore Sir Aurel might boast *Guae regio in Asia nostri non plena laboris*, but he is too modest to say that As an explorer he stands on the same plane as Marco Polo, whose footsteps he has so often retraced

Now, having accomplished so much, perhaps like his hero Alexander, he is pining for fresh worlds to conquer In that connection I would like to quote what was said the other day at the conclusion of a leader in *The Times*, a very appreciative leader It ends with this sentence "What will be the next voyage of discovery of this veteran scholar, explorer and archaeologist, who will keep his seventy-fifth birthday a fortnight from today?"

My answer to that would be, "Call a halt Do not listen again to the call of the wilds You have left no fresh worlds to be conquered Remember the advice of the poet and crown 'a life of labour with an age of ease'" Sir Aurel has had a life of labour Surely it is time now for him to seek an age at least of comparative ease

I have no doubt that is foreign to his indomitable energy, but I venture to appeal to you, my lord, who can speak in the twofold capacity of an explorer yourself and as the head of the Government of India which has done so much to forward Sir Aurel's achievements and of which he was so distinguished a servant, to use your influence to dissuade him from going back again to the wilderness We want him here at home

SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON (High Commissioner for India) The only excuse that I have in offering a few remarks is my desire to acknowledge the great service that Sir Aurel has rendered to the East, and particularly to my country His writings, and the results of the discoveries of Sir John Marshall, have infused a new spirit of pride of race in the peoples of Northern India Before these discoveries we ourselves did not realize what a grand past the Panjāb and North-Western India had They have shown us that our civilization is one of the oldest that can be found anywhere in the world, and that is a feeling which is likely to help any people to make further struggles to live up to their reputation To you it may be a case of reading an attractive novel or an interesting book from the literary point of view, but to us who have come from the Panjāb every line that Sir Aurel has written about his travels and discoveries has a special appeal I assure you that when I received his book I did not want to stop till I had finished the whole of it from beginning to end That just shows the kind of interest that we from the north take in his discoveries

I am certain that his work not only will go down in history as a great achievement, but also will prove an incentive to our people to carry forward the torch which he has lit and shown to us

My friend Mr Sidney Smith was pleased to remark that he was dissatisfied with things at the other end, referring probably to my Government Let me mention for his information that the Government of India takes the deepest interest in these archaeological discoveries made by Sir John Marshall

and Sir Aurel Stein. He knows as well as I do that all the discoveries made at Taxilla near Rawalpindi, at Harappa in Montgomery district, and at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have been financed by the Government of India, and they still continue to take the deepest interest in these discoveries.

Only recently I met one of our young Indians, a member of the Indian Archaeological Department, who has come over here to make further studies and no doubt learn wisdom from Mr. Sidney Smith and the Museum with which he is identified, and who will go back all the better fitted to continue his work. I can assure Mr. Smith that as far as the people and the Government of India are concerned, they will not be lacking in generosity to this great work begun by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir John Marshall.

Apart from these discoveries that Sir Aurel has made, there are certain other things which are of very great importance to us in the Panjāb. We know that certain parts of the Panjāb and Sind are very arid and full of deserts, and from his writings we discover that probably the course of the monsoon has changed.

He also hints that the fact that some of these flourishing towns along the south coast of Persia and Makrān have become desert is because of the change in climate. It may be that climate has a great deal to do with it, but we also know in the Panjāb that there were certain very flourishing towns along the banks of the rivers which are now more or less derelict, towns like Leah in Muzaffargarh district and Pind Dadan Khan in the Jhelum district, because of the advent of railway and motor traffic.

These towns flourished because all the trade was carried by means of rivers, although they are situated practically in the heart of desert and very rocky lands where there is no cultivation at all. It may be that the route to India along the sea coast was the cause of the flourishing condition of those towns. Sometimes it is the change in the course of rivers which brings desolation to a country. In the Panjāb we know that the River Saraswātī comes out from the Simla Hills and gradually disappears in the desert. It used to be a very fast river, it is now a small stream. Also the State of Bahawalpur used to have a river flowing through it, and the bones of some of the animals that live in marshes have been discovered there. Now it is all desert.

In the Panjāb there have been canals previously. Along the routes of the canals which are being built now we have discovered the ruins of ancient canals and towns.

I wish I had been in my village when Sir Aurel passed through it. I was pleased to read that he inspected a mound near my home. But there are many mounds like it which show there was a civilization in the Panjāb centuries ago, and there were canals and irrigations, and yet they have gone into desolation.

His discoveries and researches have given us in the Panjāb food for thought as to whether the new canals we have constructed may not have the same fate some day unless we take measures to prevent waterlogging. It is a very interesting subject, and we all want to study Sir Aurel's books line by line. I only wish to say that we are deeply indebted to him for all that he has done. He went out for archaeological studies, for the love of literature.

and art, and did not go to discover a gold mine in South Africa or a copper mine in Mexico and so enrich himself

I am sure his pleasure and pride in his work is no less than that of people like Columbus and other great discoverers. I offer him a very hearty vote of thanks on behalf of the East, and particularly on behalf of my country, which is so interested in his work. One of the most important things he has mentioned in his book is his new theory about the spot on the Jhelum river from whence Alexander crossed in order to fight the famous battle with the King of Northern India. The well-acknowledged historical fact that Alexander was defeated by the Panjābis and turned his back on the Panjāb fills us with a very great sense of pride. That will partly explain why the Panjāb is called the sword arm of India and why our soldiers gave such good account of themselves on the European battlefields during the Great War.

The CHAIRMAN: There is only a word or two which I would like to add. As I listened to Mr. Sidney Smith it began to dawn upon my mind that it might have to be my task to defend the Government of India against a charge of parsimony in the matter of excavation at the eastern end of the great tract of country which has been described to us this afternoon. But I have been largely relieved of that task by Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who has reminded you of all that the Government of India have, in fact, done in the interest of archaeological exploration.

It is quite true that during recent years it has been difficult in India, as in many other countries, to find money for many purposes which we should all like to see financed. If Mr. Sidney Smith had the daily experience which falls to my lot, of considering all the projects for which money is required in India, he would appreciate rather better, I think, the difficulties with which the Governments in India at the present time are faced in the matter of providing money for matters of this kind.

But let me assure him that I take note of what he has said, and that in so far as I am in these days able to exercise influence upon the distribution of the revenues of India, I shall bear very closely in mind what he has said. (Applause)

But there is one comment which I should like to make upon the subject-matter of Sir Aurel Stein's lecture, because it has always seemed to me to be a matter of extraordinary interest.

We all remember, I suppose, the sensation which was created by the discovery some fifteen years ago of the remains of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. It is quite clear, I think, from the finds which have been made there, that much of the symbolism of the Hindu religions of the present day is derived from this much earlier civilization which preceded by many, many centuries the incursion of the Aryans into India. Sir Aurel Stein, as a result of his researches during recent years, has been able to show that the probability is that a great expanse of chalcolithic civilization extended the whole way from Susa in Persia to the Panjāb in India. Perhaps some of his most fascinating discoveries have been the outcome of the excavations which he has been able to make in Makrān, both British and Persian Makrān, indicating the probability that that was so.

I hope that research on those lines will be continued, for I have always myself found that after the question, "Why am I here at all?" one of the most interesting questions is, "Who was here before me?" And I have always experienced a feeling of fascination in the discoveries which are made by the archæologists, showing what sort of races and what sort of cultures and civilizations were actually in existence on this planet four or five thousand years ago

Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I call upon Sir Malcolm Seton to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for the extraordinarily interesting lecture which he has given us

SIR MALCOLM SETON, K C B It is a very great pleasure to be allowed to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for his fascinating paper

Most of us, I think, know something of his books, and, like the High Commissioner for India, have been enthralled by the accounts that he has given of the results of his explorations. He has had a wonderful career, and we are delighted to see him so hale and hearty at the end of such a splendid record of achievement

For myself I have no views, controversial or otherwise, about the chalcolithic civilization, but when one thinks of the amount that Sir Aurel Stein has been able to discover of the civilization and the culture that existed towards 3000 B C, the ordinary layman feels rather like the legendary lady who, on being taken round an observatory by a distinguished astronomer and told some figures about the stars and their distances, said, "But if they are such distances away, how can you see to read their names?"

Sir Aurel Stein's vision has penetrated to a good deal of the past, and we are greatly indebted to him for spending a day of his leisure in coming to speak to us, and I wish to echo what the High Commissioner said, that we are really grateful to him

May I at the same time include in the vote of thanks the name of the Secretary of State for India, who so kindly presided over our meeting. The Association owes a great deal to Lord Zetland for his unfailing interest, and I am sure it needs no eloquence from me to persuade you to pass the double vote of thanks (Applause)

SIR AUREL STEIN said I have to thank Lord Zetland and those who very kindly spoke after my lecture from the depth of my heart for the encouraging words I have heard

I confess I have enjoyed all these travels, and in spite of the warning of my much admired and cherished friend, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, I cannot altogether promise to live in retirement. But I can promise him that I shall try to keep away from distant "true" deserts and restrict myself to a narrower zone perhaps not so far away to keep me half-way between England and the Panjāb which I love. That sort of oscillation will perhaps allow me to continue for a few years more to do the work to which I have been attached all my life

It has been a very great pleasure to me to hear the words of the High Commissioner for India, and to realize that I have been moving rather near

to his own home If I had been aware of it, I should not have failed to pay a visit to that village

It is a fascinating country, and it is in the Panjāb that I have made my earliest and perhaps some of my very best friends

Thank you very much for the encouragement you have given me by listening to a long paper

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY S H WOOD

(Director of the Department of Intelligence and Public Relations,
Board of Education, England)

I NEED not assure you—and yet I do assure you—that I have no intention of posing as an authority on India in virtue of having spent rather less than four months in Delhi, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. It was through no design on my part either that I went to India or that I am addressing you today. Indeed, when I was invited to visit that country I had very grave doubts whether my qualifications and experience were relevant to Indian educational problems, and as for addressing members of this Association, I realized when I accepted the invitation that the majority, if not the whole, of my audience would be more familiar with India than I am.

But having disavowed any claim to a profound knowledge of India, I ought also to confess that my short experience of that country does not lead me to believe in the existence of a vast unbridgeable gulf separating East from West. I think some nonsense is talked on that subject, more particularly by Englishmen. At first I was impressed by the remark, “Ah, my friend, the longer I live in India, the less I understand the country.” But presently I began to wonder whether it might not be a mere *cliché*, and, in some cases, evidence of a shallow mind. Social inheritance, religious convictions and customs, climatic conditions and geographical structure, and a host of other factors have a profound influence on mankind, but even so, men are men, women are women, and, what is more important from the point of view of my remarks today, children are children the world over. If the stomach of the Indian peasant is to be distinguished from that of the English agricultural labourer, it is chiefly by

the fact that the former more often than the latter lacks sufficient food for its satisfaction. And Indian children, like children elsewhere, are potentially full of fun and are intellectually curious, and, moreover, they have a daily need of physical activity and play. If they too often appear otherwise it is because malnutrition, disease, or customs weigh heavily upon them and subdue those interests and activities which are characteristic of the young in every human society.

In case some of my remarks are regarded as provocative, let me say, in good civil service fashion, that they commit no one but myself. In particular they must not be taken as representing the views either of my colleague, Mr. Abbott, or of the Board of Education, whose servant I am. I was not sent by the Board of Education to report on Indian education, and I made no report to them. I was recommended by the Board to the Government of India as a person suitable to accompany Mr. Abbott—and to look after him—on his mission to study and report upon the problem of vocational education in that country. My contribution to the joint Report which we submitted to the Government of India was very short, and might even be regarded as a sort of impertinence, because it dealt with general education and administration, upon which we were not specifically asked to comment. This present occasion, which I regard as a great honour, gives me an opportunity of making some observations which limitations of space and other considerations prevented my incorporating in the Report.

A MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS

I begin by recording a list of the problems which make education in India a very complicated affair. I divide the list into two parts: first, problems of a kind which to a greater or lesser degree face all countries that are attempting to establish a national system of education, and second, those which are peculiar to India, or at any rate do not complicate the issues in England.

In the first list I put poverty with its inevitable consequences: malnutrition and disease, which in their turn result in poor physique, intellectual apathy and a sluggish response to educational influences. If I could call down two, and only two, bless-

ings on India, like manna from heaven, they would be more food and a school medical service. There are also the number, the isolation, and the smallness of village communities which make rural education troublesome to organize and costly to provide. Difficulties also inevitably arise from a policy of decentralization of power to local authorities—bodies consisting largely of inexperienced people who must go through the stage of learning, and learning by mistakes, how to perform their duties. There are also the problems inherent in any system which must articulate the work of statutory authorities with that of voluntary associations. Finally, in this first list, I put the tendency of administrators and teachers alike to regard education as so much instruction to be conveyed to children as though it were a species of food or clothing. In reality education consists largely of experience, activity, the acquisition of knowledge and reflection upon it, which children must themselves achieve in co-operation with one another, though, of course, under the stimulus and guidance of their teachers.

I could dwell on these more or less universal difficulties, but it would probably be more useful if I were to explore some of those which arise from circumstances, conventions, or traditions which are peculiar to India. I will limit myself to two or three of them. The multiplicity of vernaculars and communal differences, amounting sometimes to communal antagonisms, account for many troubles. There is the fact that government from the centre is promulgated, and business to a large extent is conducted, in a language which is not the language of the people. Finally there are the disastrous consequences arising from the twin problems—for they are inseparable—of illiteracy and the position of women, which brood over India like a vast cloud whose ominous shadow falls everywhere and obscures everything.

ILLITERACY

I will take these twin problems first. I do so not only because of their supreme importance, but because they enable me to begin at the foundation of education—namely, the care and training of infants. If any of you have read the Report, to which I have

already referred, you may charge me with not having taken illiteracy seriously enough. Let me quote part of that paragraph which is headed "Concentration on Literacy a Mistake"

"It has been impressed on us from many quarters that the main purpose of primary education is to secure permanent literacy. We regard this as an unbalanced view of the purpose of education at any stage, and even if we accepted it we could not subscribe to the present method of attempting to secure literacy. Literacy, like happiness, is not achieved by pursuing it as a narrow objective. It is a bye-product of satisfying activities."

I do not withdraw a word of that, but I will elaborate it in relation to that other problem—the position of women in India.

How, in fact, can literacy be achieved? And by literacy I do not mean a child's ability at any particular stage of the school course to read and write, but his actual use of reading, writing, speaking and listening, for purposes which are significant to him, to his family, or to his fellows. Such literacy can be achieved only by the co-operation of school and home, and, if the school is a day-school, the home must be the major partner if the result is to be something of permanent value. But what sort of a partner can the home be if the woman in it is herself illiterate and unresponsive to educational influences? The schools may attack illiteracy with persistent zeal, but they will make little impression on it until the women of India have that minimum of emancipation which comes from a measure of education. The present fight against illiteracy is heartbreaking, but not only because of the lack of responsive mothers in the home.

THE TEACHING OF LITTLE CHILDREN

Broadly speaking, the education of young children from five to seven years of age in Northern India (I am speaking of boys only) is wholly entrusted to men. I was arrogant enough to say in India, and I say here, that I think I should make quite a good infant teacher—but only for a fortnight. The education of the very young is concerned not only with formal instruction in reading, writing, and reckoning, but with physical care and the formation of good habits, and with widening experience through activities which, however vigorous, are childish in their simplicity. It is a woman's job. It demands her patience and her under-

standing, and it involves her willingness sometimes, in Rousseau's phrase, to lose and not to gain time. I say this while being fully aware of a modern tendency, in some quarters, to favour a kind of he-man education of little boys. If a society entrusts the education of its infants to men, and at the same time impresses on those men that the objective of primary schools is to achieve literacy, the result should not surprise anyone, and that result is, in a great many schools, long, tedious hours of arid study unrelieved by the play, the fun and the activity which, to put it no higher, are a biological necessity for young children. And literacy does not result, because literacy springs from interest and not from boredom.

There are about 50,000 women teachers, many of them trained, at work in educational institutions of all grades in India. Mainly, of course, they are in girls' schools, many of which admit boys to the infant classes, and some are in mixed primary schools. I saw enough of women teachers in charge of little children of both sexes to know that, like their sisters in other countries, the young women of India are potentially capable of discharging, and with training would in fact successfully discharge, a task which is not now and never will be adequately performed by men. I believe that with ingenuity and determination the number of trained women teachers could be fairly rapidly multiplied, and something could thus be done to substitute liveliness for the joylessness which so generally pervades the education of little boys. I know there are immense difficulties, not the least of which is that it is not always safe for women, without protection, to work in the villages. This difficulty only serves to emphasize the paramount importance of the education of women. For, as I said in the Report,

"Educated women are one of the most powerful factors in civilizing men, and it is sometimes the manners of men which make the employment of women in schools and elsewhere so hazardous an undertaking, particularly in rural areas."

In short, there must be more women teachers in the schools, and more women with at least a minimum of education in the homes of India before there can be any hope either of dispersing

this menacing cloud of illiteracy or of giving children what is their due

Someone may, with fairness, say that I have overlooked one crucial consideration. In Northern India, at any rate, men very largely outnumber women, and as marriage, and early marriage at that, is in India more than in other countries the objective of women, so is it also an achievable objective. How, then, are infant schools generally to be staffed with women if so many of them marry and have family responsibilities at a comparatively early age? If this be a true estimate, not only of the present position, but of the future also—as to which I am not competent to judge—I confess that I see no solution of the problem of the suitable care and training of young children so long as infant schools continue so consistently to take a shape imported from other countries.

But when I picture a village infant school as what it ideally ought to be—namely, an institution which the community itself evolves because of its concern for the care of the young, and which it insists on managing on a co-operative basis because the school touches each family at a vulnerable point—then can I just see the possibility, in the distant future, of Indian village communities, here and there, trying out experiments which might set an educational example to the world. In plain words, if in some substantial village community the education of girls became widespread and more of the young women, both before and after marriage, were trained in the rudiments of the care of young children, it might be possible for a school for the infants of the village to be conducted under the control of one directing full-time teacher—possibly even a man—with the aid of some of the girls as yet unmarried, and, on a part-time basis, of some of the mothers for the benefit and delight of whose children it was brought into being. This would be a contribution indeed, and a specifically Indian contribution, to educational thought and practice. A fantastic proposition? So is it fantastic to entrust the education of countless children between five and seven years of age to institutions where never a woman is to be found on the premises from dawn to dusk.

I am not suggesting that the moment you get women into the boys' infant schools all will be well. I know that many women who take up teaching are bad teachers, and that some few men have a positive genius for dealing with babies. Nor would I wish to give you the impression that I am arrogant enough to think that I appreciate the full significance, either on the debit or the credit side, of the position of women in India and particularly of their position in the home. I can only say that my limited experience leads me to the conviction that a good future for India is inextricably bound up with what I can only call the emancipation of her women.

Before I leave the question of illiteracy let me emphasize again that education is concerned with more than mere intellectual attainments. If there be such a thing as literacy of the mind, there is also a "literacy" of the body, the hand, the eye, and the ear, and supremely important, elusive though it be, a "literacy" of the spirit. I know that man is a unity, but I stress his threefold nature because, to judge from many of the schools of India, one might almost be led to believe that he was a disembodied mind, or, more anæmic still, a disembodied memory.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

I come now to the complications which arise from communal differences and the variety of vernaculars. I do not possess a knowledge sufficient to enable me to deal with some aspects of the vernacular problem with any conviction, and I shall not therefore attempt any brave excursions. I can only say, first, that the interests of the individual child will be submerged if the problem be treated as though it were capable of some mass solution which would impose this or that vernacular in a particular school or district on a basis of counting noses and disregarding the needs of minorities, and second, that any attempt to get round, or over, the educational difficulties which a multiplicity of vernaculars presents, by substituting English for the mother tongue of young children, is doomed to failure. I will, later on, deal more in detail with this question of the place of English in the educational system.

The magnitude of the educational problems set by differing

vernaculars must not, however, be exaggerated. They must be viewed in the right perspective if distortion is to be avoided. A school day which is to satisfy boys and girls in primary and middle schools must not be wholly or even mainly devoted to learning dependent upon language. Gardens and games, chisels and rulers, clay and coloured chalks, and many other tools of experience and experiment, are fortunately free from vernacularization.

On the other hand it would be difficult to exaggerate the serious consequences for education when communal differences are inflamed to the point of becoming antagonisms. It may be inevitable that there should be Moslem schools, Sikh schools, and Hindu schools, and that, at present, at any rate in some areas, adherence to defined communal quotas should govern certain appointments. But many a school in India suffers, and many a teacher or inspector is hampered in his work, because those with some measure of authority in this or that racial or religious community use education as a pawn in the struggle for power or ascendancy. Such conflicts strike at the root of integrity in local administration and they subject schools, teachers and inspectors to the play of forces which are not educational because they arise from animosity or acquisitiveness. If the schools are to cultivate in their pupils that literacy of the spirit of which I have already spoken, they must be societies in which the art of good human relationships is engendered and in which it is treasured as the supreme art. Teachers ought, therefore, by precept and by example, to train their pupils in the practice of tolerance and generosity. But why should teachers be expected to put before themselves a standard of social behaviour higher than that set for them by those set over them?

THE ENGLISH MEDIUM

Now for the third consideration—the fact that in the main the language of government and of large-scale business in India is an alien language—English. I have no time, and have not indeed the knowledge, to treat the matter historically. I will not even play with the magic name of Macaulay. The present-day facts are sufficient for my purpose. Because government service-offers

status, salary, security, and pension, it is the ambition of countless parents that their sons, or at least one of them, should enter that service, and as that service, and the world of business, demand a knowledge of English there is a widespread desire for instruction in a language which is not the language of the people. The result is that English finds its place in the upper classes of the high schools not merely as a language to be studied and mastered for its own sake, but as the actual medium through which mere boys, in their thousands, are expected to achieve an education in other subjects. This is a denial of sound educational practice. Until English is dethroned in the high schools as the medium of instruction and takes its proper and extremely important place as a compulsory language I see no possibility of the secondary schools of India meeting the real educational needs of ordinary boys of 14, 15, and 16 years of age.

A journalist ran me to earth one evening in India and asked me what I thought about the place of English in the schools. I replied rather curtly that "No child can be educated through the medium of a language other than that in which his mother spanked him." I went to bed fearing that in the morning I might find a headline "Educational Expert" (for so, much to my embarrassment, I was labelled) "advocates corporal punishment in the home." But no. What I read next morning was "Educational Expert says that no boy or girl should be educated through the medium of a language other than that in which his or her mother spanked him or her." I feel inclined to let it go at that. Of course, there are boys and girls, here and there, with distinctive talents who can stand the strain of giving and receiving information, formulating ideas, recording experiences and expressing their sense of values in an alien language. But for the average boy the present system is disastrous, and it leads directly to that curse of Indian education—mere learning, and memorized learning at that. As I said in the Report

"As a whole the boys in the high schools are responsive and educable, but they are hampered at every turn by having to handle an instrument which comes between them and spontaneity."

I know the difficulties of substituting the vernaculars for English

as the medium for instruction in the high schools, and I wished when I was in India, and I wish now, that it was not necessary to urge a policy involving such a patient and prolonged attack (with the possibility of periods of comparative disorganization) before it is triumphantly brought to fruition. But I could not hold up my head again if I did not make this protest against what appears to me to result in the educational frustration of numberless boys of quite reasonable capacity. If you must have English as the medium of instruction in the high schools you must begin the teaching of that language in the infant classes, as is rightly done in those few schools which draw their children from homes where English is normally spoken. But who could contemplate such a policy for the primary schools as a whole which already are devoting more time to linguistic exercises than is good for any child, and which are filled with children from homes where not a word of English is spoken or understood?

I would not have you think, because of these drastic criticisms, that I failed to find schools in India which have set before themselves, and are reaching, a high standard of educational achievement. If you were to follow my itinerary and were to study the strange things that I recorded in school log-books you would find that many times in Delhi, in the Punjab, and in the United Provinces, I wrote lyrical words of appreciation because they were forced from me by the excitement of taking part in a genuine and rich educational experience. I will not mention names or places, but I recall, in particular, one small primary school, in the hands, of course, of a male teacher, which makes me feel almost ashamed of the hard things I have said about men teachers and infant education.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEFECTS

I hope that what I have said has sketched in the background against which I can now outline a final consideration. The educational problems of India, I think you will admit, are greater in number and more subtle in character than those of most countries. As elsewhere, the schools are not suspended in mid-air, they are borne on an administrative machine. And it must be clear that only a long-range policy, patiently and persistently executed by

skilled administrators and qualified inspectors, can be expected to help schools and teachers to maintain intact all that is good, while steadily reforming what is discredited or out of date and drastically eradicating what is glaringly evil. But the education departments of the various Provinces are not, in my view, constructed so as to secure such desirable results. It is not that skilled personnel is not available, or could not be made available if the need arose. It is that the formulation of policy in education and the direction of its administration are not regarded as meriting the whole-time services of a head of department whose tenure of office shall be permanent and who shall reach his position by virtue of previous knowledge and experience, not of administration in general, but of educational administration in particular.

The Secretary of the education department of a Province—that is, the person who is the controlling head, subject to the Minister, of the educational service—is, as a rule, an officer of the I C S, who may not only be Secretary of some other department as well (law, industries, etc.), but is also a temporary officer in the education department since he will, after a few years, be moved on to some other administrative or executive post. It is true that the Director of Public Instruction is permanent and may be Under-Secretary of Education. But think of the weariness which must overtake the stoutest D P I who in the course of, say, a dozen years has to coach, advise, and understudy three or four successive Secretaries (I scarcely dare to mention it for fear that I shall be charged with romancing, but I was credibly informed that in one Province there had been 18 Secretaries in 21 years). How difficult it must be, in these circumstances, for the Secretary to discharge his duties to the Minister properly, and what chance is there for a D P I, cluttered up with files, to find the time personally to control and direct a large inspectorate as well as to keep himself abreast of modern educational practice. And yet without these things the formulation and the execution of policy related to the real needs of the country must be so hampered as to be almost impossible to achieve.

I am not suggesting that the administrative head of the education department should not be an I C S man, but only that the

educational needs of India demand that he should normally, if I may use a slang expression, "be in the job for keeps" You will not perhaps agree with this view unless you are, like myself, romantic enough (or, as I prefer to say, realist enough) to see in education the instrument which is to guide India towards its legitimate goal

In conclusion, let me take you back to what I said at the beginning about East and West If your criticism is that this address is but the application of a Western mind to an Eastern problem, I can but reply that I have yet to discover the potion which, in the interval which elapses between leaving Marseilles and arriving at Bombay, will perform the miracle of converting a Western into an Eastern mind

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, December 8, 1937, when a paper entitled "Some Impressions of Indian Education" was read by Mr S H Wood, Director of Intelligence and Public Relations, Board of Education, London. Sir Firoz-khan Noon, K C I E, High Commissioner for India, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN The lecturer this afternoon needs very little introduction from me, particularly to an audience in London. My only excuse is that perhaps you do not know how much we in India esteem Mr Wood and his work for India. With Mr Abbott he visited our country last cold weather and they wrote an excellent report on Vocational Education in Northern India, which has been very well received, and on merits, all over my country.

Mr Wood then spoke on the lines of his paper.

The CHAIRMAN The subject-matter of the lecture is now open to discussion. I have before me several names of ladies and gentlemen who are willing to take part in the discussion. The time at our disposal is very short, and perhaps they will kindly restrict their remarks to five minutes each. As it is not possible for any lady or gentleman to say much about the whole lecture in five minutes, perhaps they will confine themselves to the particular points which they consider most important.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON I am in general agreement with Mr Wood's first contention that human nature is much the same all the world over, and that, therefore, educational problems of different countries are very similar. I was glad, therefore, that Mr Wood, with his wealth of English experience, found it possible to visit India, I was more glad to read his admirable report, and still more glad to have listened to his stimulating address. May I express the hope that he will revisit India—if only to look after Mr Abbott—and, after his return, give us another of these excellent addresses?

Mr Wood seems to have been embarrassed by being termed an "expert" in India, but India is a sensible place and realized at once that Mr Wood is an expert. May I suggest also that it is less embarrassing to be called an expert than a Director of Intelligence, which betokens an expert of experts?

Mr Wood has spoken only briefly on educational problems which are common to India and other countries, possibly because they are merely administrative problems, but he has made some pertinent remarks on the subject of educational administration.

He has first discussed the vexed question of the position of Secretary to

Government. I agree with Mr Wood's comments, but feel that he might have gone further. The main difficulty is the paucity of educational administrators in India. As a Punjab inspector remarked in another connection, the administrator is "top-light."

Mr Wood also dealt with the position of local bodies and with the fact that Indian Governments have surrendered much of their control to these inexperienced authorities. But I am unable to agree with Mr Wood that local bodies should be permitted to "learn by their own mistakes", errors of judgment possibly, but not irregularities.

Mr Wood has spoken at greater length on the two problems which are largely peculiar to India: the attitude towards women and the use of a foreign medium in the schools.

With his remarks on the position of girls' education there will be general agreement. The importance of the home in education and the influence of the mother in the home are already realized. In consequence of the backwardness of girls' education, people in India tend to lead dull lives, half of each day is spent in the school and in school studies and activities, but the other half is spent in the home, where influence is often antagonistic to those studies and activities. The advisability of little sisters accompanying their little brothers to school is also felt, but co-education should not be limited to the pupils, it should also be extended to the staff. Mr Wood, however, has carried us further, and has urged that the education of little boys is penalized by their being taught by men instead of by women. But we are confronted by the difficulty of finding women teachers who will face the uncongenial atmosphere of an Indian village. I shall not trespass on Lady Hartog's preserve and shall be content with observing that the support of girls' education has been very difficult in the past. There should be at every provincial headquarters a woman officer who will protect the interests of girls' education.

I also feel that more might have been done in utilizing the vernacular medium. The universities are bureaucratic in the belief that the mere pronouncement that the vernacular medium shall be used will be sufficient. The vernaculars should be given the status of other subjects in the degree courses, and the training colleges should be placed on a vernacular basis. But I am disappointed that Mr Wood has not referred to the vernacular system and to the importance of vernacular middle schools. In this system the way is clear towards the development of education on a vernacular footing.

In conclusion, I cannot but feel this, though I agree very largely with Mr Wood's impressions, there is yet a point of difference between us. In my feeble battlings against the difficulties of education in India, I was often comforted by the words of Newman's hymn, "One step enough for me." What is the next step? In my opinion, the next step is to improve the administration, to render the position of local bodies more

satisfactory by ensuring suitable control, to reduce the domination of matriculation, to control biennial examinations, and to reconstruct the system of secondary education on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board. My submission, therefore, is that if many of the admirable suggestions made by Mr Wood are attempted within the existing framework, they will be doomed to failure.

LADY HARTOG. Mr Wood's most interesting paper has brought back very vividly to our minds the problems which have faced educationists in India for many years. It is very chivalrous of Sir George Anderson to have left the girls' case to me, and I forgive him today for doing so because of the exigencies of time. But we want his help, we want everybody's help in hammering away at this question of vital importance—the education of women. It stood in the forefront of the recommendations of the Committee whose Report bears my husband's name, but that does not mean that enough has been done about it. If girls are to be educated in far greater numbers than they are at present, two things are absolutely essential.

One is that Governments must give more money, a larger proportion of their available money, to girls' education than they have been doing up till now. The second is that there must be more women teachers. Mr Wood was shocked and pained to find that in India little boys were being taught by men teachers. But if his enquiry had taken him to the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and also to Bombay and the Central Provinces, what would he have said when he found that thousands of little girls in *girls'* schools were being taught entirely by men teachers, to say nothing of the thousands more of little girls who were going to the schools for boys?

I should like to put in a plea that for a good many years girls have the first claim on women teachers, however sorry we may feel for the little boys. In my own opinion the new methods, the "satisfying activities" which have been so well described by Mr Wood, are even more essential for the reform of primary education than the sex of the teacher. I do not know what others present think, but I have the feeling that, taking India as a whole, the lowest classes of primary schools for girls are not very much happier, brighter and more alive places than the corresponding classes in the boys' schools, unless they are in charge of teachers who have been trained in modern methods. Certainly the parents in India do not seem to think so, judging from the enormous numbers in which they have been sending their little girls into the schools for boys during the last few years.

But I must get back to the question of the education of the girls, and the point I want to make is that I do not think you are going to get much further with girls' education by just sending the girls into the boys' schools without any women teachers there. I take as example the

Province of Madras Madras has more girls at school than any other province. It is free from purdah, and there are now more girls in the boys' schools than in the girls' schools, 300,000 odd in girls' schools, and 400,000 odd in boys' schools

But do you find that those girls in the boys' schools stay on till Class IV, the class at present necessary to reach for permanent literacy? No, because there are no special provisions for the girls in the boys' schools, either physical or intellectual, no special girls' subjects, no women teachers, and so the parents take them away, and actually the percentage of girls in Madras who reach Class IV is very much smaller than the percentage in Bombay, or even than the percentage in the Punjab, our Chairman's Province, which has made great progress with girls' education in recent years. Only 16 per cent in Madras get to Class IV, in Bombay 26 per cent, in the Punjab 19 per cent.

I have no time now to go into the question of how to get more women teachers, but Sir George was talking about the "next step," and I think some reference should be made this afternoon to what the new Ministries are doing. I do not know how far those here have followed the discussion on Mr Gandhi's suggestion that primary education should be made not only vocational but self-supporting. At the end of October he held a conference at Wardha with the Ministers of Education in the Congress Provinces, and I think that you may be interested to hear the resolutions passed at that conference

"(1) That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale

"(2) That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue

"(3) That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child

"(4) That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers"

It will be very interesting to see what the "next step" actually is

Professor GORDON MATTHEWS (Madras Christian College) Despite the very wide range of Indian experience represented in this meeting, I think it is just possible that my contact with Indian education is unique. Before I joined the staff of the Madras Christian College, I actually taught for many years in an Indian high school. It is in the light of that experience that I wish to support Mr Wood's contention very heartily that the vernacular should be substituted for English as the medium of instruction right through the high-school course

In South India the general practice—not the universal practice because we are moving in a tentative way in the right direction—is to use the vernacular as the medium of instruction in the first three forms of the high school—that is to say, until the average age of the pupil will be about fourteen—then in the three final years to switch over to English as the medium of instruction. My experience is this. Many pupils are completely thrown out of their stride by that change over in the medium of instruction. Promise of early years fails of fulfilment, and the failure can be definitely traced to the handicap which is imposed upon the pupil by instruction in a very imperfectly understood medium, by his own lack of skill in the use of English as an instrument of expression.

My own analogous experience perhaps quickened my understanding of the situation and deepened my sympathies with these unfortunate boys. In my own reading of Tamil treatises I found that the mental effort required to grasp the meaning sentence by sentence very often seemed to distract the mind so much that I was unable to follow the logical cogency of a protracted argument. It requires a very exceptional command of a foreign tongue to be able to avoid that mental distraction, a far higher command of a foreign tongue than we can possibly expect of pupils in the high-school stage. There is no doubt that, as Mr Wood has been saying, we are imposing this serious handicap upon many Indian young people today. The question is, Is it feasible to substitute the vernacular for English as a medium of instruction at that stage in the educational programme? Is it feasible?

I am convinced in my own mind that it is. As many here will know, the vernaculars, at any rate of South India, are first-class languages. They are adequate. They are among the very finest instruments of expression that the evolution of human language has produced. They need nothing except the addition of a technical vocabulary to cover the developments of modern knowledge. The majority of schools would find no difficulty at all in introducing the vernacular as the medium of instruction right through the school course.

I admit that in certain localities, where no one language predominates, where there may be a majority language, but there is also perhaps a very substantial minority language, it would not be possible, of course, to adopt one vernacular only. I agree absolutely with Mr Wood on that point—every boy must be “taught in the tongue in which his mother spanked him.”

It would create a difficulty only in smaller schools. In the larger schools, where every form is already duplicated, sometimes not twice but four times over, it would be quite possible in one form to do the work in one vernacular, and in another, a parallel division of that same form, to do it in another language.

The parents will be our chief difficulty. The parents have not wanted

the introduction of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction. They still do not want it. They fear that the introduction of the vernaculars will mean a decreased knowledge of English. That, I am convinced, is a mistaken apprehension. The mental relief which will come at the introduction of teaching in their mother-tongue will be such that there will be an increased intellectual activity and boys will make far more rapid progress in all their subjects including English, which will then have its rightful position—namely, as a universal second language.

Mrs VERGESE. I stand here today representing some of the students who have come to this country, and also as a disillusioned woman, because until this afternoon I thought the girls' schools in India were the very best. It has been a great sorrow to me to hear that they are not as good as the boys' schools. We thought that, though few, they were excellent.

We students feel that one of the greatest necessities that the students want and that education in India needs are training colleges. We have not enough training colleges. If you want your schools to improve and education to spread, you must have good training colleges. So the first thing we would like to ask Government is to give us training colleges which will be open to women, not those which will take a few women as a favour, but of a kind which will be open to women as well as to men.

We also feel that our schools ought to change their old methods and adopt the new and modern methods which are proving so successful in the West. We feel that much more stress, as Mr Wood has said, should be laid on infant school and nursery school work. Also there should be not only secondary schools, but also vocational schools. In fact, there should be other schools besides the secondary schools.

Referring to this question of the medium of instruction, we are all in agreement, I think, that the medium of instruction should be in the child's own vernacular, but we feel that English should be taught from the junior classes up, because it is not possible for the student who has used only his own vernacular in school to go to college and have all his instruction in English.

We also think that in schools much more emphasis should be laid on the physical well-being of the scholars, and games should be encouraged. It was a source of astonishment to us when we first came to this country and saw trays full of bottles of milk being brought round for the children. It is an unheard-of thing in our schools where many of the children suffer from malnutrition.

As to the status of women in India, I think you will agree that it is improving. If you want to help the best way would be to have schools for married women. You know that married women have great responsibilities in our country, they have to feed their husbands and families. Therefore we suggest that schools for married women should be started,

between the hours of 11 and 3, so that they could come to school and go away again without upsetting the home time-table

We would also suggest that they should learn not only reading and writing, but also hygiene and child welfare and food values, and they should also learn to be good citizens

As for having women teachers in boys' schools, we think that is an excellent idea, because it seems to me to be very necessary for little boys to respect women, and how can they respect women more than by having women teachers? In India teachers are revered. Let us give the men of tomorrow women teachers, and they will learn to respect and reverence the women

SIR RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR I have only one complaint to make—the lecturer and Mr Abbott did not visit the best part of India, Southern India. If they had, I do not suggest that any of their conclusions would have been different, but perhaps the aspect would have been a little more mellow. They would perhaps have had a slightly different idea of the difficulties with reference to finding women teachers for schools and other problems

As you are aware, Indian Ministers are in charge of the educational department. Their proposals will go through, and there is no dictation possible from London or any other place which will affect their policy. The only possibility is if new ideas are valuable enough, and if the proposals are good, they stand a chance of acceptance

From that point of view, I think the excellent Report Mr Wood and Mr Abbott have produced will be very widely accepted by most Ministers, Congress or non-Congress

I desire to speak on one issue that the lecturer has raised—that is, with reference to vernacular being the medium of instruction. The last speaker put her finger on the spot and showed the difficulties of the problem from the point of view of parents and students. I have heard this question debated in my country with a great deal of feeling on both sides. There are people who are out and out advocates of the vernacular being the medium of instruction. Most of the students have the ambition to have collegiate education, and their parents have the ambition to send them to colleges. Then you are at once faced with the problem, How shall education be imparted in the colleges? You will find there is no halfway house, and you must continue collegiate education through the medium of vernaculars

That is my reaction to the suggestion. I do not agree with the statement that once the medium of education in the schools is the vernacular, a knowledge of English would automatically so improve that in the colleges there would be no difficulty. If you have vernacular education, let it be as in Japan, right through the whole course, including the college. Then I can see there is some consistency in it. Otherwise I see great difficulties

Most of you can read French in your schools. How many of you would be in a position to take a college course at the Sorbonne?

There is one other fact. Why do we want the English language? I may say I shall be equally satisfied with the French language. We want contact with Western—I will not say civilization or culture because those words mean many things—but with Western thought. We want that contact, and we want some Western language through which we can establish that contact. For that reason English is valuable to the students in India. The students may not all emerge as graduates, but we do believe that if English or one of the Continental languages is taught to them, there will be a good deal of understanding and appreciation of what is good in the West.

The Englishman feels peculiar difficulties in learning foreign languages. Your isolated position has been responsible for it. But there is hardly an Indian who does not speak more than one language very fluently. The difficulty that Mr. Matthews found in studying Tamil may not be equally as acute to the Indian student. I should not be understood, however, to ignore the value of the vernacular being the medium of instruction in schools. But I desire its advocates to realize the logical extension of that reform and not to be oblivious of the advantages of learning a Western language which brings the student into contact with Western thought.

Mr. A. C. CAMERON (Secretary, Central School for Broadcasting). I am one of the unenlightened, who am only here as a friend of Mr. Wood, and I therefore particularly appreciate your courtesy in asking me to speak.

I am not going to comment on his admirable address, but to ask a question. There is, it seems to me, an omission in his paper. He has not mentioned either broadcasting or the cinema.

I have always felt, though at second-hand, that in a country where there are a number of people illiterate, that both the cinema and broadcasting might have a particular service to render to education. I know, at any rate, that the first intelligent printed official document about the cinema came from India, the Report of the Committee in 1927-1928. It recommended the setting up of a central body that would look after the development of the cinema from the point of view of public welfare. We seem to have heard something of the same kind in this country within the last month or so.

That Report, instead of concentrating on the harm that the cinema could do, concentrated on the good that it might do. I know also that in India today, under Mr. Fielden, a good deal of the development is going on in the use of broadcasting. There again, can that be turned to the service of education in the particular circumstances of India?

I do not know the answer to either of those questions, because I do not know India, but I do suggest that these two new mediums may have a

particular service to render under the circumstances, and ask my question as being possibly a contribution to the discussion

Mr MARDY JONES I only want to put one question, and make it clear that I agree entirely with Mr Wood's views I spent three years in India, devoted mainly to what was being done there Every educationist here and in India feels that the programme must go along those lines Surely in India it is the birthright of every boy and girl to get a free primary education, yet India is the most backward part of the Empire in that respect

It seems to me that we are all pretty well agreed as to the lines to take and the need for making it compulsory and free, but no one has mentioned the greatest problem of all, and that is where is the money coming from to meet the cost? The cost would be simply enormous Relatively India is also the poorest country in the Empire, and I would make a very humble suggestion—that the time has come when the British nation should appreciate what India has meant to us for centuries and how much the very prosperity and prestige of the Empire depends on India We have taken far more out of India than we have ever put into it, and I think it is time that we took up this education as a duty on our side to facilitate the financial problem by making some substantial contribution to meet the great need of primary education

The CHAIRMAN I have no intention of speaking on the subject because all that is good has been said already, but I do wish to take this opportunity of thanking Mr Wood for the excellent address he has given us I greatly appreciate the application of a highly experienced and trained and technical Western mind to our Eastern problems His views have been very refreshing, and I am sure they will be greatly appreciated in India and will be the cause of future reforms of our educational system

Many of these problems that he has touched upon have already been discussed in India We have had very distinguished Directors of Public Instruction belonging to this great country, who have been helping to educate India in the past, and none of these things have been hidden from them For the last fifteen or seventeen years the Education Ministers have done their best for the education of their people

There is a great demand for girls' education The moment we open a girls' school it is filled immediately I have been, as Sir George Anderson mentioned, a Minister for Education, and I realize how much I owed to Sir George Anderson's sound advice and ever willing help

Our great difficulty in India is the increasing population and the lack of funds At the end of my five years I collected some statistics, and I said, "Now let me see how many more Punjabis I have succeeded in educating, boys and girls, and how many more schools I have opened" I found out

the increased number of schools and the increased number of boys and girls, and I worked out the statistics. I discovered that I was in exactly the same position as my predecessor was five years ago. The increase in population had been quicker than the facilities for education which we had been able to provide.

The great problem that faces our Ministers is the provision of funds. According to the new Constitution, the Provinces have no sources from which the increased revenue can come. All their sources of revenue are more or less rigid.

It is lack of funds that makes me depressed about the future of education in India. The suggestion made during the discussion, that funds should be provided from England, seems to me rather unfeasible. I think the Ministries in the Provinces will have to face this great problem, and I really cannot see where the money is coming from. If we had the money, I assure you that within a generation we would provide Indian children, boys and girls, with an education which would in no way be inferior to the education imparted here. When we consider the amount of money needed and realize how difficult it is for us to raise it, we then understand how colossal our problem is.

One other remark I should like to make, and that is about the medium of instruction. There seems to be a little misunderstanding, because in a very large number of provinces the vernacular is the medium of instruction already up to the matriculation standard. In the Punjab Government has already decided to make the vernacular the medium of instruction except for English subjects for the Punjab matriculation. In Bengal also they have made the vernacular the medium of instruction, and I have no doubt that that will be the trend of things throughout the whole of India.

I entirely agree with my friend Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar that once you make vernacular the medium of instruction for the matriculation examination, it must also go right through the college course. It is wrong to say that college education cannot be imparted in the vernaculars. We have before us the example of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, where education from beginning to end is carried on in the Urdu language. I have met some of the products of that University, and they can hold their own against men from any other University.

I do not wish to take up your time any further. I would like to thank Mr. Wood again for the very sympathetic manner in which he has tackled our problems. I am sure no Indian could have tackled these problems with greater sympathy or sincerity of purpose than Mr. Wood has done. He has kept his mind aloof from all diplomacy and statecraft when dealing with Indian problems, and it has been very refreshing for us Indians to have his views on the questions that are really paramount in the minds of Indian educationists. Mr. Wood's recommendations will be of great value to the educational reformers in India who want to fight against views which

are sometimes very unbending I have no doubt that he has rendered a service to Indian education which will be remembered and appreciated for many years to come

Sir MALCOLM SETON We have to all intents and purposes passed a vote of thanks to Mr Wood, but I should like to add to that a vote of thanks to the High Commissioner for being so good as to come here this afternoon. We are very glad to see the High Commissioner here, and I think we can all really sincerely feel that he has been rewarded for his kindness by the extremely interesting address Mr Wood has given us and by the discussion which some of ourselves have contributed. I ask you to pass this vote of thanks

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation, and the meeting closed

Sir PHILIP HARTOG writes Our Honorary Secretary has asked me to put down in writing the brief comments on Mr Wood's delightful paper which I should have made at the meeting, had there been time

Mr Wood said "It has been impressed on us from many quarters that the main purpose of primary education is to secure permanent literacy." As this question of permanent literacy is dealt with at length in the Report of the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, I wish to say that this was not our view. We regarded permanent literacy not as the main purpose of primary education, but as the minimum attainment which could be regarded as tolerable. And we regarded literacy only as a means for the attainment later of that understanding of the outside world and that formation of the individual judgment which every person should have the opportunity of acquiring in a democracy. Our reference related mainly to political changes, and we wrote "In the primary system, which, from our point of view, should be designed to produce literacy *and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote*, the waste is appalling" (*op cit*, p 345). Mr Wood's phrase "the literacy of the spirit" appeals to me

The question of literacy takes me straight on to that of the medium of instruction. Mr Wood would be the first to admit that his proposals on this point are not new. In the Sadler Report of 1919 there are two long chapters on the Medium of Instruction (xiii and xli), recommending the use of the vernacular throughout the secondary school course except in the teaching of English and mathematics. It has taken many years to bring about reform, but changes are now coming into operation, as the Chairman pointed out, in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab, and I have no doubt that other Provinces are preparing to follow suit

We dealt, moreover, in the Sadler Report with a closely related subject of the greatest importance, the teaching of the mother-tongue, one sadly neglected in India, on which we had much to say that I believe to be still

of value I was much struck while in Dacca by the poor attainments in Bengali of the average student tested in that subject, due no doubt to the low esteem in which teachers of the vernacular in secondary schools were generally held, and the absurdly low salaries offered for such posts. Dacca was, I believe, the first university institution to pay teachers of the vernacular on the same scale as teachers of other subjects.

I should like to emphasize, as strongly as possible, the need, pointed out by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, for better-educated young Indians to be able to understand (even if they do not learn to speak) a world-language like English, which, after all, is the language spoken by some 190 million people, whose publications give access to every branch of modern science and learning, and I confess to some fear lest the addition of Hindi to the burden of every pupil may produce in future among Hindus that overloading of the curriculum with languages which has acted as so grave a handicap to Muhammadans in the past.

Finally, I think that Mr Wood will find his arguments against constant changes of the senior officials in the Education Departments enforced with some wealth of detail in the Report of the Education Committee of the Simon Commission.

I hope that these comments may not seem ungracious. India was fortunate in securing the services of two such distinguished officers of the Board of Education as Mr Abbott and Mr Wood, from whom long service has taken nothing of their freshness of insight and outlook and expression.

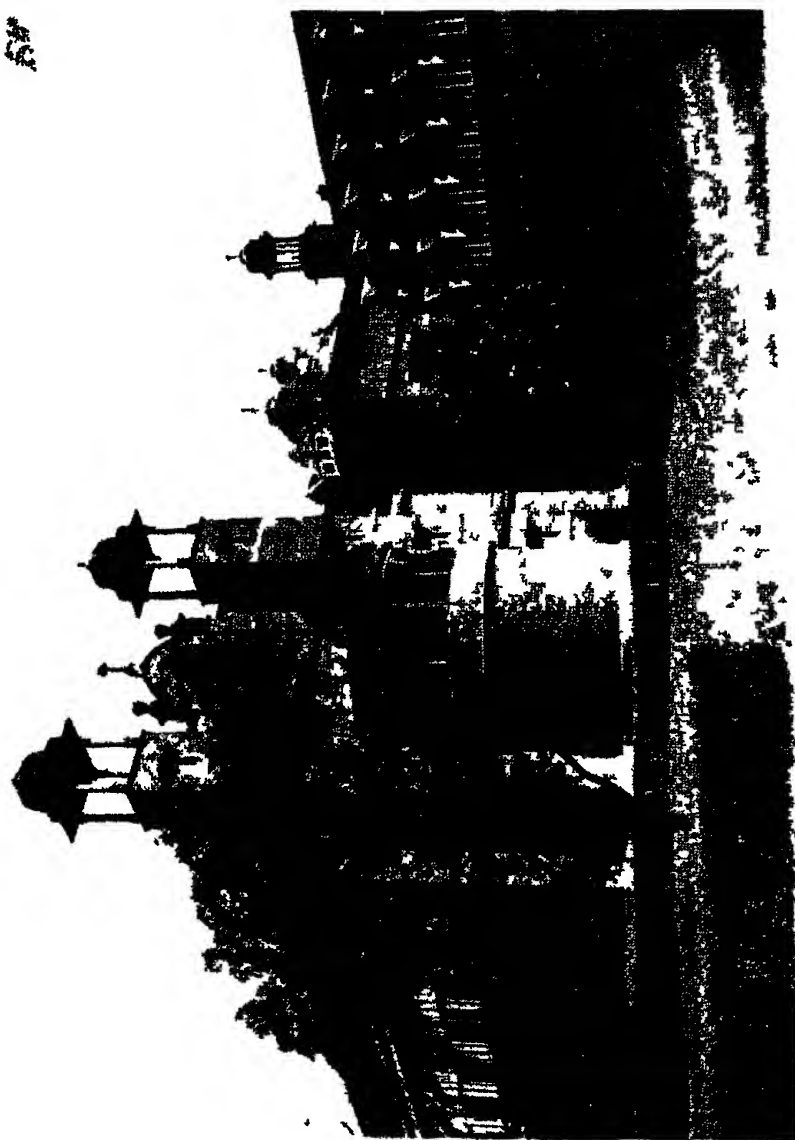


FIG 1 —VIEW OF THE BARODA PICTURE GALLERY THE MUSEUM IN THE BACKGROUND

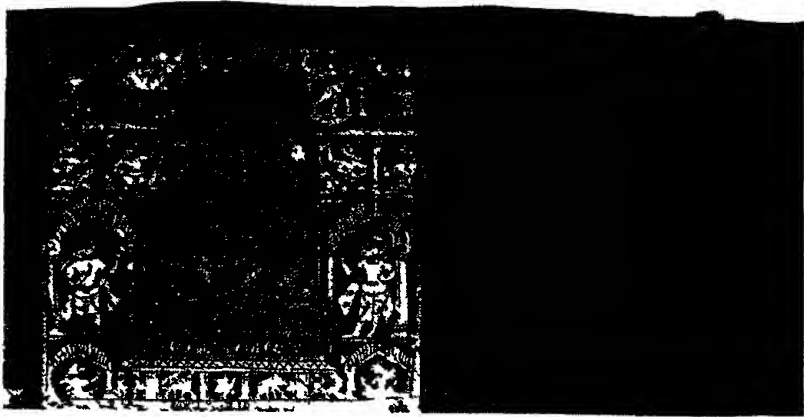


FIG 2 —JAIN MINIAITRE ON PALM LEAF ABOUT 1300 A D



FIG 3 —VYAS WITH HIS DISCIPLES
Miniature from Razm Namak time of Akbar



FIG 4 —PICTURES BY RUBENS AND HIS SCHOOL

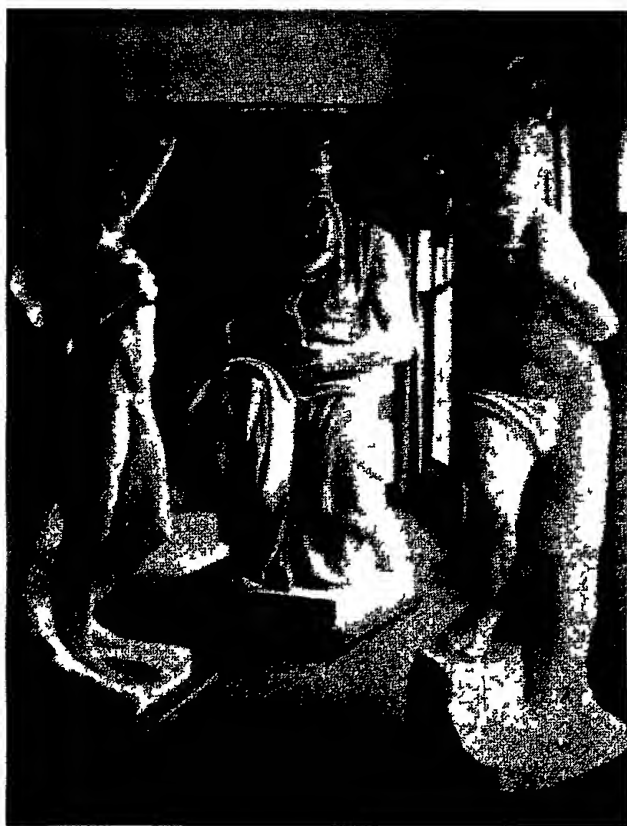


FIG 6 —PLASTER CASTS FROM WORKS BY
MICHEL ANGELO

The Baroda Picture Gallery

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FIG 5 —OFFANY PERFORMING OF "MACBETH" IN 1768 WITH GARRICK AND
MRS IRICHARD ACTING

The Burda Picture Call 11

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THE BARODA PICTURE GALLERY

BY ERNEST COHN-WIENER

THE construction of the building of the Picture Gallery at Baroda, which forms an annexe to the Museum, was started in 1908 by Mr R F Chisholm, F R I B A., and completed in 1913-14. It consists of two floors, and its galleries contain specimens both of Eastern and Western art. His Highness the Maharajah of Baroda has shown his keen interest in this institution by handing over to it a magnificent private collection which he assembled over a period of years.

The ground floor houses Indian paintings. As may be expected there is a rich collection of ancient Jain miniatures, the greater part belonging to Kalpsutra manuscripts. It is to be regretted that this school of painting is so little known to the artistic world, as its merits are as great as those of mediæval book painting in France or England of the period to which they belong. Our oldest decorated manuscripts, written on palm leaves, belong to the thirteenth century, and the design is of a delicacy hardly surpassed in any other province of art. When, later on in the fifteenth century, paper was used instead of palm leaves, the tradition was kept up so well that the paper leaves were cut in the shape of palm leaves, but the design and the colour became coarser. The latest Jain miniatures in the Baroda Museum belong to Akbar's time. The entire development of this art can thus be studied at Baroda.

Moghul paintings form the next section. The Baroda Museum preserves, as a great treasure, 31 miniatures of Razm Nameh painted by well-known artists of Akbar's court. These miniatures show how Islamic culture really tried to understand Indian mythology, and are of singular beauty. A notable feature is the delicacy of the landscapes. In other rooms there are paintings of the times of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan in fairly large numbers. All schools of Indian paintings are likewise represented, especially the Rajput and Kangra schools. A great number of "Raginis" represent the high development of the artistic feeling in India. No other country succeeded so well in translating musical ideas into pictures.

In the big rooms of the upper story there is the gallery of Western pictures. These were collected under the orders of His Highness the Gackwar of Baroda by Mr Marion H Spielmann, F S A., from 1910 onwards, but it was not until the year 1920 that they could be brought over to India. This is probably the

finest collection of Western art in India. Numbering more than 200 specimens, it shows every period and every country of European art. There are no less than 19 works of Italian painters, among whom the Venetian artists are especially well represented. There are also pictures by Spanish artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Portuguese school is represented by a portrait of Queen Catherine of Braganza, who was important in Indian history. But these paintings from Southern Europe are greatly outnumbered by those of Northern Europe, numbering altogether 72. Here almost every artist of Rubens' school is represented, and among the Dutch pictures are landscapes of the first rank. The English artists of the eighteenth century are also represented by some excellent portraits and landscapes.

There are 88 modern pictures in the gallery, covering the period from the nineteenth century to the present day. The French section shows, among other pictures, examples by Millet, Courbet, Raffaelli, and others who can be justly called the classics among the modern artists, as the Victorian pictures, of which there is a great number, are the classics of nineteenth century in England.

The third collection is that of plaster casts from famous sculptures. Such a collection is found in every big European museum, but this is, as far as I know, the only one of its kind in India. The different periods of Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, and Greek art are represented, the selection having been made from the modern standpoint. Two other rooms show plaster casts from Italian sculptures, among which the colossal figure of Michel Angelo's Moses is the most outstanding feature.

There is a certain difficulty in all Indian museums. The number of visitors is comparatively high, in Baroda it amounts to 280,000 a year. But it is difficult for them to appreciate properly the beauty of art works, Indian as well as European. Regular lectures are delivered in the different departments of the Baroda Picture Gallery, and high-school teachers and students at Baroda are given a complete series of lectures with lantern slides in the Lecture Theatre of the Museum building in order to spread among them knowledge and understanding of the history of art.

WOMEN IN INDIA

BY DR S N A JAFRI (BARRISTER-AT-LAW)

WOMEN all over the world are making consistent and earnest attempts today to be in step with the times. To the less convincing and more cantankerous type of critics—essentially of the old school of thought—who still linger in the present age like the peak of a submerged world, it might appear somewhat preposterous that women should pretend to claim equal rights with men. But who can arrest the march of events? Women today are ultra-conscious of their depressed and suppressed past, and with a united front they are advocating zealously their rights and claims. To have a clear picture of the rights and claims of women it is necessary to measure their progress not merely by their achievements but by their endeavours as well.

THE DARK AGES

If we turn back and look at the world's history, in the days of paganism women were totally relegated to the background. This was due to the fact that in those dark ages when man's rational faculties were not brought much into play, the basic principle of society was brute force and man arrogated to himself the office of a supreme lord over all earthly creations. Woman could never assert herself and was at best considered part and parcel of man's domestic establishment. He held an arbitrary right over her as he did over beings of the lower orders of life. She was a saleable commodity with only one purpose in life—that of helping her lord.

GREECE AND ROME

This popular conception was current for a long time, and even the early Greeks and Romans, in spite of their intellectual attainments, tenaciously adhered to this view. Greek women were strictly confined to their homes, and their energies in most parts were absorbed in household duties. Though Rome has bequeathed a valuable legacy in art and culture to posterity, she did practically nothing serious to raise the status of women. Roman poets and dramatists have no doubt praised the intrinsic qualities and worth of women, but what appealed to them more than anything else were the maternal virtues of women. Rome, in her

quest for fresh dominions, always courted war rather than peace, and in order to safeguard her far-flung empire from disintegrating, considered it vitally important that she should have exceptionally strong men fit to bear the brunt of the enemy's attack. So it became a question of expediency that Roman women should be the mothers of strong sons, and it became the policy of Government to recognize the importance of women only as mothers of future soldiers. Girl infants were not held in great estimation, and if it was the case of a weakling, the child was exposed to death on the heights of the cold and bleak mountains. In the palmy days of Rome, when Cæsar and Augustus were in power, women came into greater prominence, but even then they were esteemed more for their looks than as individuals who had any appreciable rôle in public life.

CHRISTIANITY

One notable feature of Christianity, the religion that dispelled darkness from Europe, was that it recognized, to a very small extent, the right of inheritance of women. Already in Numbers it is related, "If a man die and leave no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter." It is, however, unfortunate that in spite of such enunciation of the rights of women, early churchmen like St. Paul should denounce women for man's original sin of eating the fruit of the forbidden tree. St. Paul said, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in transgression." European history records the curious incident of a potentate in the Middle Ages who had a queen who was in the habit of constantly interfering in his regal duties. The king, to stop this irritating interference, indignantly remarked to his consort, "Madam, I married you to bear me children and not to interfere in the affairs of the State." These instances, trifling as they may appear, serve to show that even in Europe in those days women had not attained considerable importance. Their rights were not recognized, though there was a partial admission of their important place in the social fabric. After the Great War, through which Europe emerged as out of a storm, the old order changed, yielding place to the new, and one cry that rent the air was that of the rights of women. In England this agitation gained such appreciable momentum that it had its effects far and wide. This was a development of the post-war world, a conception quite foreign even to the intellectual few of a bygone age.

EARLY HINDUISM

The struggle of women for emancipation, particularly from the dawn of the current century, has been constant and strenuous,

and their attempts and success have been fluctuating like the fortunes of the hero in a novel. In India, a land riddled with superstition and traditional beliefs based on half-truths, the position of Hindu women was far from enviable. In the early ages women were considered symbols of evil, and in the *Rigveda* they are said to be "unmanageable, incorrigible, and wanting in grey matter." It was thought that a girl child was a source of misery and a boy of light in the highest heaven. This led to the traditional belief that only sons, not daughters, could perform the funeral rites of parents. Thus, perchance a man should die childless or should have only daughters—both came to the same thing—it was said that he would not reach heaven, nor would he receive the divine blessing. He would on the contrary reach "Puth," the bottomless pit of eternal misery. So women were considered as necessary evils and they had absolutely no *locus standi* in life. *Manu*, the father of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, to whom much of the present Hindu traditions and customary beliefs are traceable and whose codes of conduct for man have become the basic tenets of Hindu *Dharma*, stressed the importance of the family as the unit of society. The head of the family was the father, through whom the relationship counted. To his protection were charged his unmarried daughters, who, after their marriage, were committed to the sole care of their husbands. Child marriage was the rule rather than the exception. *Manu* has explicitly enjoined that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve and a man of twenty-four should have for his bride a girl of six years. It is said that he was expected to be the girl's teacher rather than her husband till she attained full maturity, but of course this could not work in practice. This custom of early marriage was so common among the ancient Hindus that if a father failed to marry off his daughter within the prescribed period he was considered a blot on the entire Hindu society. To an orthodox Hindu marriage was sacrosanct. Matrimony was a state attained by a process of religious rituals and was indissoluble, at any rate so far as the girl was concerned. Divorce and widow remarriage were ideas absolutely unknown. In those days there were instances, particularly among the poorer classes, of payment to the brides by their husbands. In parts of Bengal and Madras, and with some caste Hindus in certain other Provinces, even to this day, there is a dowry system by which the father of the girl has to make payments both in cash and kind to the bridegroom as consideration for "obliging" the father by marrying his daughter.

Manu laid it down that a woman could have no property of her own and that she could have no legal claims of inheritance. In her married state a woman had no liberty of action and looked to her husband for light and guidance. She was expected to

regard him as a visible embodiment of God on earth. Her earnings, if any, were the property of the father if she was unmarried and that of her husband when married. If the husband should die leaving some property and no child, his widow could enjoy the property only during her lifetime and had no right whatsoever to bequeath it to anyone. The social position of the widow was lamentably bad. Thanks to the advent of the Mughals and some of their benevolent monarchs, the ground was soon cleared for legislation to end this pernicious practice on pain of penalty in the early British period. Even today, in spite of all the advancement due to the impact of Western civilization, there is a good deal of social bias in India among the Hindus against their women and a good deal of restriction against widows. Thanks, however, to the efforts of some legislators, the Central Legislature has recently passed an Act giving Hindu widows and their descendants similar rights of inheritance as to a son. But it is regrettable that a plea to give rights of inheritance to daughters was rejected in connection with the Bill which conceded the aforesaid right.

MUHAMMADANISM

The condition of women in Arabia before the birth of the Prophet was anything but happy. The early Arabs, like their contemporaries elsewhere, had developed a supreme aversion for women. It was a common practice to bury female children alive. The Prophet saw that no nation or race could stand the test of time if its womenfolk were subjected to such treatment. He condemned the common belief that women were the personification of evil. He regarded women as a source of honour and their position as an index of the civilization of the age. The Quran says "Oh men! you are an apparel and a source of honour to women and oh women! you are a source of honour to men." So with divine zeal the Prophet set about reforming the Arabs and strove to improve the lot of women. He preached to his followers "The best of you is one who is best towards women." It was left to the Prophet to expose the fallacy of the dogma that men were superior to women and prove that women and men were equal. "He giveth a female child to whomsoever He pleaseth and a male child to whomsoever He pleaseth."

Having effected this change in the popular belief, the Prophet next set about enunciating in unambiguous terms the prerogatives, legal rights, and social status of women. "And of wholesome rights women share equally with men." At the very outset it was laid down that Muslim women had a right to inherit property, an idea quite novel to that age. To avoid confusion

and bickering, the Prophet made it clear that the daughter should inherit half the property normally earmarked to the son. This proportion was fixed more for expediency than as a just division, for a son, when married, had to discharge his obligations to his wife and children, and it was but reasonable that he should inherit double that of his sister's share. Moreover, a Muslim woman has a claim on her husband's property as well as on that of her parents. The law of gift also empowers the father to bequeath more of his property to his children in case of need, and daughters as much as sons benefit by this law. A Muslim woman has absolute dominion over her property and has transferable rights. While all this is true in general, there are later developments among certain sects, like the Bora community of Bombay, the talukdars of Oudh, and Muslims of the Punjab, where customary law overrides the personal law. This customary law deprives the woman belonging to above sects of her normal right of inheritance. In 1937 in the autumn session of the Central Legislature, a Bill designed to concede the inherent rights of Muslim women and to remove all impediments in their way of inheritance was passed in respect of all property except agricultural lands, which, being a transferred subject, could not conveniently be brought within the purview of the Bill introduced by the Central Government. It is, however, expected that the Provincial Governments concerned will rise to the expectation of the public and remove completely all the obstacles in the way of Muslim women exercising their inheritance rights sanctioned by their religion.

It may sound as a hyperbole to state that Muslim women by their personal law on the whole enjoy a greater degree of personal freedom than a woman of any other community. But this is none the less true. In all her varied existence, the Muslim woman maintains her individuality. She can dispose of her property in whatever manner she likes, and the fact that she is married is no bar to the conduct of her personal affairs. This liberty of action is unique among the Muslims. Even in England, before the year 1883, according to Anson's *Law of Contract*, women were not permitted to enter into legal contracts. Thus the rights of Muslim women are far greater and more clearly defined than those of the women of other communities. The rights of Muslim women are sanctioned by religion, while in England women wrested theirs from man after a prolonged period of organized agitation.

According to Islamic Law marriage is a contract that binds two people who can be allowed to separate. The whole matter proceeds on the basis of mutual understanding, and if there is any deflection on either side after marriage, the contract can be terminated. Thus, for the Muslim, marriage is a strictly secular

arrangement. The individual has full freedom of choice in the matter of selecting his or her partner "Marry whomsoever you choose" It is considered un-Islamic to marry a reluctant girl The Quran says "Do not detain women unwillingly"

This principle has been further extended in practice A minor girl cannot be married unless it be a case of exceptional legal necessity, and even then, if the girl, after coming of age, feels that her happiness has been marred by that marriage, she can break away Though there is no dowry system among the Muslims, there is a practice by which the bridegroom has to pay a consideration money or "Mahar" to the bride, which is in no case refundable The practice was introduced with the idea of enabling the bride to start life with an economic status, but it has been carried to such extremes among certain classes of Muslims that complications have very often set in at the time of payments, much to the detriment of the good relationship of the parties concerned, with the result that the very object of the injunction, which was to exercise a salutary influence over husbands, is being defeated

The edicts in Islam which form the mainspring of the women's cause are a revelation to the intellectual world The idea of original sin has been effectively exploded once for all and women have been put on the same level as men In fact it is largely due to the wholesome influence of Islam that the cry for the rights of women has been effectively taken up, and today we find women at the helm of affairs in government and society

INDIA TODAY

Even in India, where conditions are proverbially stagnant, women are in the vanguard of progress While women doctors and barristers have ceased to be a rarity, we also hear without surprise of women ministers and legislators. The Age of Consent Act has checked child marriage considerably, and there is constant agitation among women's organizations throughout the country for enforcing similar measures for the elevation of women Like their sisters elsewhere, Hindu women have become very vocal and insistent for political rights and status. In 1917 the women of India made a bold representation when the Montford reforms were on the anvil Their joint representation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1934 shows the rapid and remarkable progress Indian women have made since 1917. These things augur well, and with a more rapid disappearance of retrograde beliefs and superstitious customs, it is confidently believed that Indian women will come to occupy at no distant date an important position in the worldly scheme of things

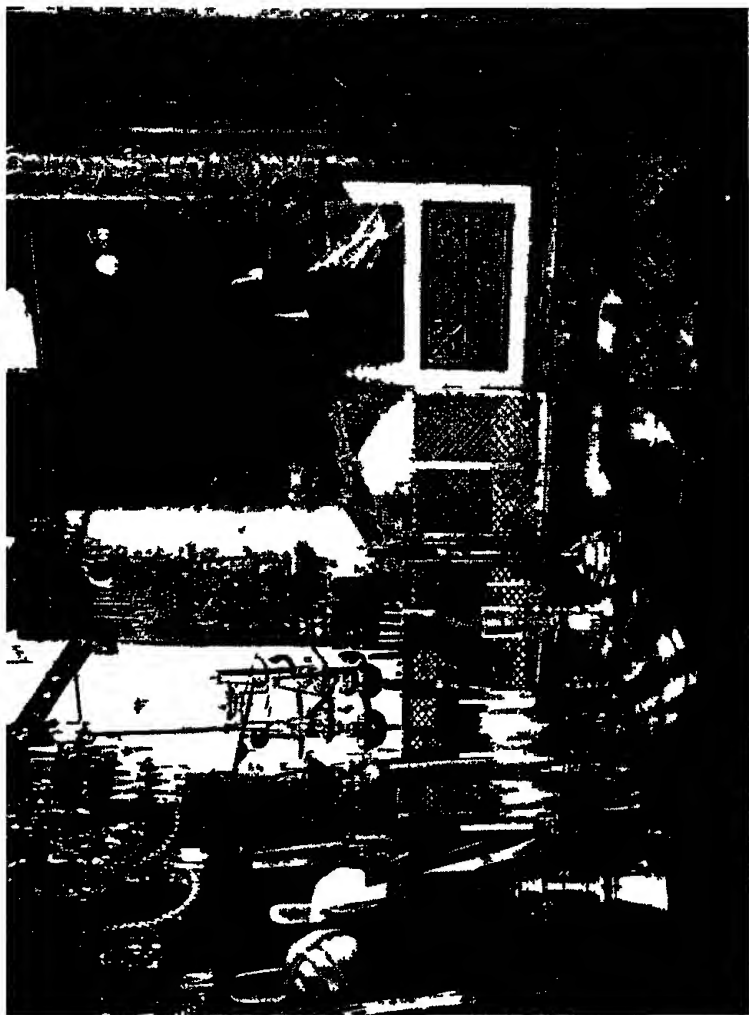


FIG 1 —KONYA INTERIOR OF THE FORMER TIKK OF THE MEVLANI DERVISHES

The sarcophagus of the founder of the Order is seen in the background

The Tourist in the Turkish Capitals of Anatolia



FIG 2 — KONYA SECTION OF THE FAHNCI INCIRGINC THE DOME OF THE KARATAYLAR MEDRESSAH



FIG 3—KONA ARCH ON THE CHAIPI AT THE NORTHERN END OF THE COURSE OF THE
SIRCHAI MIDRESSAH



FIG 4—KONYA THE IHRAI WITHIN THE SAHIYA MOSQUE

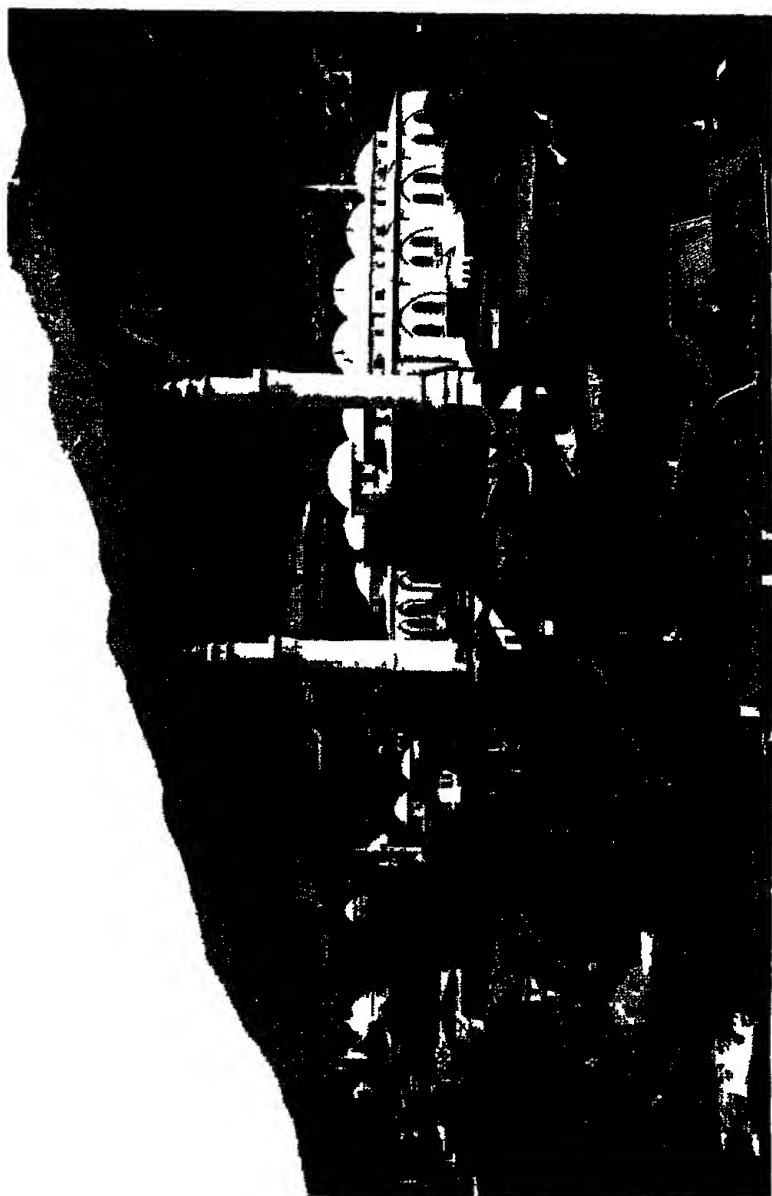
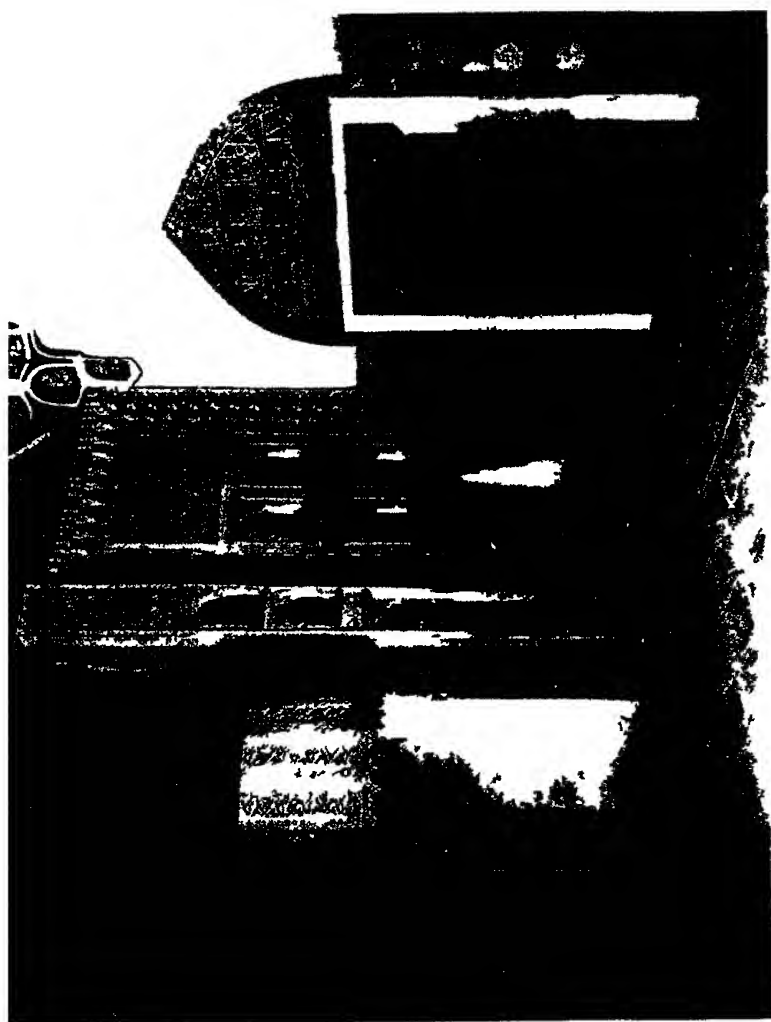


FIG 5 —IROUSSA GENERAL VIEW OF THE ULU JAMI OR GREAT MOSQUE
The slopes of Mount Olympus are seen in the background



116 6—BROUSSA A CORNER OF THE YASHIL JAMI OR GREEN MOSQUE

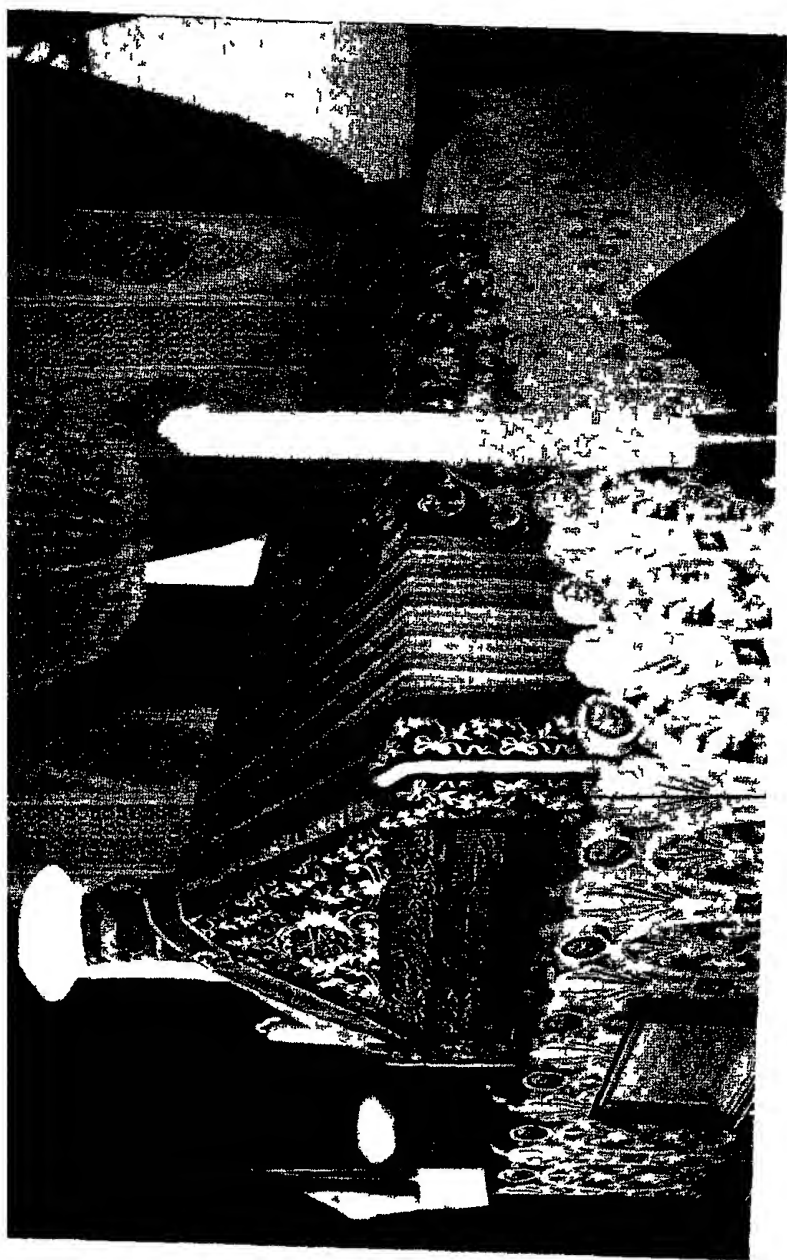


FIG 7—BROUSSA SARCOPHAGUS OF OTHMAN I, FOUNDER OF THE OSMANLI DYNASTY



FIG 8—ANGORA A SECTION OF THE TURKISH CITADEL WALLS

THE TOURIST IN THE TURKISH CAPITALS OF ANATOLIA

By E H KING

HAVING attempted to describe in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* a journey which embraced one of the most remote regions in a land unsurpassed in romantic beauty, my object in writing the present article is to endeavour to arouse the reader's interest in a brief survey of the historic features of the Seljuki, the early Osmanlı, and the present-day Turkish capitals which are all easily accessible and where, in the case of the two latter, the complete amenities of modern civilization may be enjoyed

Of the two latter capitals Broussa may be easily visited from Istanbul by crossing the Bosphorus to Mudanya and proceeding thence by charabanc, it is possible, though very inadvisable, to return the same day. Ankara may be reached in complete comfort by taking a luxurious night train from Haydarpasha, which enables one to reach the modern capital in time for breakfast on the following morning. As to Konya, I recall leaving the city by a night train and arriving at Ankara on the following day round about 5 p m, so that, although somewhat further afield, even this journey presents no serious difficulties, far less discomfort

If I have not embarked upon a description of Constantinople itself it is not due to any lack of affection for or interest on my part in the unique splendours of the ancient city of Constantine the Great and the later Osmanlı capital, but because I am not unmindful of the fact that far abler pens than mine have long since dilated upon its wonders, nor, frankly, have I the temerity to insult the reader's intelligence by a repetition of historic facts doubtless already acquired in many cases at first hand, or at least upon reference to the wealth of literature so readily available upon the subject. Yet of the hundreds of British tourists who doubtless pass annually up the "Golden Horn," how small a proportion, it would seem, cross to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus and set out to admire and study the earlier art and history of the Turkish race

KONYA

At the conclusion of the journey previously described I had succumbed to a somewhat sharp attack of fever upon my arrival at the seaport of Mersin, and it was with a feeling of profound relief that, when convalescent, I was able to quit the treacherous summer

climate of the lowlands of Cilicia for the health-giving, invigorating air which may be enjoyed in the vicinity of Konya, where I arrived by rail about the middle of July, 1936. The town today boasts a population of approximately sixty thousand, and lies at an altitude of three thousand four hundred feet near the base of the western Taurus range, where it swings in a south-easterly direction along the fringe of the Axylon Plains.

Far be it from me to describe the somewhat cramped accommodation afforded by the Hotel Seljuk Palas as luxurious! Nevertheless, if scrupulous cleanliness, good food, and a helpful and kindly management, whose charges are of the most moderate description, will suffice, your sojourn in Konya should prove every whit as enjoyable as my own, and let me here remark in parenthesis that I have never been approached by the Turkish authorities to extol the beauties of their entrancing land nor to indulge in any form of propaganda, for if I may not write of a country as I find it I would prefer to refrain from describing it at all!

For the most part Asiatic Turkey does not cater for or encourage the foreign tourist as yet, and there exist no national organizations such as the Intourist Travel Bureau of Soviet fame. Before dilating upon the charm and historic interest of the erstwhile capital of the Seljuk Turkish Sultans, I feel it only fair to warn the reader that in travelling along the main lines of communication in Anatolia one must be prepared to encounter possibly a somewhat irksome interest by the police in one's movements, but provided common sense is exercised this need occasion no embarrassment to the traveller, and in my experience courtesy and frankness will smooth away any difficulties which might arise. I merely mention this fact since I have recently read more than one most discouraging account, and I am anxious to remove the impression undoubtedly thereby created that the foreigner travelling in Asia Minor moves in constant peril of being pounced upon by the police at any moment for no apparent reason and confined in a noisome cell over an indefinite period whilst awaiting trial for some purely imaginary offence!

In a country where such far-reaching developments are daily approaching more nearly to the point of fruition, the Government are obliged to exercise a somewhat close scrutiny upon the movements of foreign nationals, but with one minor exception I am happy to be able to emphasize the fact that throughout my fairly protracted travels in Anatolia I have experienced nothing but the most disinterested kindness and help from Turkish Government officials, both in Ankara and elsewhere, and if the police may seek information which possibly strikes the traveller as being somewhat irrelevant, their enquiries are couched in the most courteous terms, personally, I have enjoyed many conversations

of the most interesting and enlightening character with police officials which have more than once served to while away the tedium of a train journey

Unquestionably one of my most pleasing recollections of the Turkish people centres around the extraordinary friendliness, intelligence, and charm displayed by the youth of the country. I recall more than one occasion when I have been seated, smoking the pipe of contentment and peace, in the public gardens or parks during the cool of the evening and being approached by one or perhaps two or three college students, who, immediately recognizing in me a foreigner, would, in a most delightfully unaffected manner, address me, maybe in French or English, asking if they might join me in a chat. They would thereupon proceed to bombard me with innumerable questions regarding my own country and as to how it compared with Turkey from every conceivable standpoint, in fact, I was frequently subjected to a somewhat gruelling cross-examination from which I was forced to extricate myself by turning the tables upon them and in my turn seeking information from my youthful and ardent interrogators. If these lads may be regarded as typical examples of the rising generation, then it augurs well for the future prosperity and contentment of a country which has suffered so severely from mal-administration in the past.

A knowledge of French, a language far more generally spoken in the country than English, will carry the visitor along quite comfortably in Konya, both at the hotel and for sightseeing purposes, particularly where one is already in possession of a fair knowledge of the historical features of the locality. In dealing with the arabachis, or cab-drivers (many of whom I found to be rapacious to a degree), it is advisable to seek information beforehand regarding fares from the hotel proprietor (although several of the mosques and medressahs [religious colleges] are to be found within a stone's-throw of the front door). So determined was I to resist the extortionate demands of these worthies that on more than one occasion I subsequently discovered that I had inadvertently underpaid them and thus there was doubtless some justification for the howls of abuse which mercifully fell upon uncomprehending ears!

Konya stands upon the site of the ancient Iconium of the Romans and the Greeks, its biblical history being associated with the visit of St. Paul in company with St. Barnabas, whence he was ejected by the Jews, but whither he later returned on his second missionary journey and where he appears to have encountered his cherished disciple Timothy (Acts xvi. 2). Of this ancient city, however, not a visible trace exists today, and its historical interest centres entirely round the earliest Turkish occupation.

In order that the reader (and, as I trust, the potential visitor!) may the more readily appreciate the spirit pervading the rugged old mosques, medressahs, and other remains still standing in a locality wherein I intended to spend a couple of days but where I actually remained for a week, it is necessary to hark back towards the close of the tenth century, when the Turkish nomadic tribes, under the guidance of their leader, one Seljuk, migrated westward from the steppes of Chinese Turkestan towards Bokhara and whose advent constituted a memorable epoch in the history of Islam. At this period the vast empire of the Khalifs, riven by internal dissensions, had become little more than a collection of scattered dynasties bound by no common interests, but the newcomers, adopting the Islamic creed with fervour, infused new life into the moribund state. Toghrul Bey, Seljuk's successor, after completely overrunning the Persian Empire, entered Baghdad in the year 1055, when the Khalif el-Kaim bestowed upon him the title of "Representative of the Khalif and protector of the Moslems," whilst his nephew, Alp Arslan, who in turn succeeded him, followed up his conquest of Georgia by his seizure of the Armenian capital, the city of Ani, in 1063, subsequently driving the Armenians westward from their plains and villages. In 1070 he captured the town of Cæsarea from the Greeks and in 1071 inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at the town of Melazkherd, north of Lake Van—a victory which later paved the way for further conquests in Asia Minor—with the result that in the year 1074 the Seljuks dominated Persia, Syria, and Anatolia, whose dynasties were suppressed and an immense empire founded which extended from the borders of Afghanistan to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The chief claim of Iconium to the distinction of being the capital of the province of Lycaonia in Roman times lay in its central position upon one of the great lines of communication between Ephesus on the western coast of Asia Minor and Tarsus in the south, moreover, many important Roman roads intersected at this point. Later, during the reign of Hadrian, the city became a Roman colony.

The Sultan Daud Kilinj Arslan I, who reigned from 1092-1106, became the founder of the Seljuk Empire of Roum (Anatolia), and the city of Konya became the capital of this dynasty in the year 1099, from which its sway was exercised over a large part of Asia Minor during the ensuing two hundred years. True, their Sultans were deposed for short periods by the Mongols and the outer walls of the city were captured by the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa in 1190, who, however, never succeeded in seizing the castle, and upon his death the Sultans re-entered their capital and thenceforward there ensued the most glamorous

period under the rule of the Seljuks until the weakly Sultan Ghiyas-ed-din Keykhusru II was defeated by the Mongols near the Armenian town of Erzincan in the year 1243 and under the terms of the Treaty of Sivas acknowledged the supremacy of Kuyuk Khan. The independent Seljuk Empire of Roum thus collapsed, although the successors of Ghiyas-ed-din ruled as vassals of the Mongol Khans until the commencement of the fourteenth century. The city of Konya then passed into the hands of the Emirs of the independent state of Karamania, which was subsequently annexed under the Osmanlı dynasty.

Having very briefly surveyed the history of the Seljuks and of their second and incomparably most important capital (for their earlier occupation of Nicæa was of the briefest duration), let us now proceed to inspect the remains which still stand (albeit, in many cases, rapidly crumbling to dust) to testify to the glamorous splendour which characterized the life of the capital in those distant days.

We cannot do better than to make our way in the first instance towards the erstwhile Tekke of the Mevlani, once the principal monastery of the Order of the Whirling Dervishes, founded in the thirteenth century by one Hazret Mevlana, otherwise known as Djelal-ed-din, the Persian mystic, poet, and saint from Bokhara, who was invited to the Court of the Sultan Ala-ed-din Keykubad I (1219-36), unquestionably the most celebrated of the Sultans of Roum, and who was wont to gather about him many eminent philosophers, architects, and men of letters from the countries east and west of the Oxus, fugitives from the all-devouring and devastating Mongol invasions. As a natural consequence the most casual observer cannot fail to detect the strong Persian influence of the highest order which permeates the art of the Seljuks, largely an essentially composite art, towards which features displaying Saracenic inspiration likewise frequently contribute. Our objective is situated in the centre of the town, being reached by passing through the bazaars (of no particular interest) and being easily identified by the lofty cupola surmounting the building, encrusted with tiles of emerald green (a comparatively recent replacement of the original blue faience).

Since the year 1925, when the Dervish Orders in Turkey were suppressed by order of Kemal Atatürk, the former inmates have dispersed and the building has now been converted into a museum of Seljuk art, and a more enchantingly peaceful and entrancing spot it would be difficult to imagine. Here is to be found no trace of the musty, fusty atmosphere so frequently associated with such institutions, for in truth but little change has been effected, and that little merely serves to enhance the most interesting features connected with the building.

True, I missed the picturesque figure of the "Chelebi Effendi," as the presiding genius of the monastery was formerly described, garbed in the brown dress with ample fluted skirt and the tall conical hat of similar colour, but encircled by a green band, the sole distinctive emblem of his status over his lesser brethren. In the year of grace 1936, however, I am greeted by the curator of the museum, an elderly little gentleman who strove manfully to rack his brains in order to enlighten me, from an extremely meagre French vocabulary, regarding the historical features of the domain under his charge (with which I was already largely acquainted), and who appeared to be almost on the verge of tears when, on occasions, we may be said to have failed to establish verbal contact!

Upon entering the precinct through a low and picturesque porchway, I was confronted by what may be described as the forecourt, in the centre of which stands a marble fountain with numerous faucets covered by a canopy supported by slender columns, and standing before the lovely old cedarwood doors of the mosque, above which rises the customary minaret.

Having crossed the threshold I was conducted to the interior of the "Turbeh" of the "Pir," or founder, Djelal-ed-din, above which rises the cupola already mentioned and which is reached by passing through the gates of silver observed in the photograph (Fig. 1), beyond which stands the great marble sepulchre itself, covered by a pall of black and gold (presented by the last of the Turkish Sultans, Abdul Hamid) and surmounted by the sarco-phagal turbans of the deceased and his kinsman, the Sultan Veled, whilst those of his successors may be observed in an adjoining chamber. No words of mine could adequately describe the beauty of the rich polychrome effects and intricate carving observed upon the walls of the "Turbeh," which, as it seemed to me, serve to enshrine with a majesty in death the remains of one whose life's work ultimately became centred in poverty and the care of the destitute.

The "Turbeh" constitutes the sole portion of the building dating from the Seljuk period (1245) since, in effect, the "Simahane," where the ritualistic dancing took place, erected during the reign of Selim II, and the mosque itself, dating from the time of Suleyman the Magnificent, were both added in order to commemorate in perpetuity the doctrines of the founder. The "Simahane" remains entirely unaltered, and it required no great effort of the imagination to conjure up the figures of the ecstatic devotees as they performed their gyratory evolutions to the accompaniment of weird and barbaric chants and to the beating of the drums in the presence of the august and motionless sedentary figure of the Chelebi himself. Upon the floor of the adjoining

mosque are now arranged a number of museum cases containing various relics, some dating from the time of the founder of the monastery, among which I observed his vestments in a fine state of preservation, as also silk tissues and velvets, together with early volumes and leaves from the Koran.

Suspended from the walls of the building are to be seen carpets and rugs of exquisite design, colour, and weave, amongst which were pointed out to me two specimens which my informant, the curator, assured me dated without question from the thirteenth century—i.e., the Seljuk period. Early Oriental rugs possess for me an intense fascination, and this disclosure came as somewhat of a revelation, since in the London market, where some of the finest pieces are to be acquired today, the earliest Anatolian prayer-rugs are classified as dating from not anterior to the late sixteenth century. Unrivalled in their artistic beauty, a beauty inspired by the fanatical devotion of those weavers of old, are the classic specimens—alas! too rarely encountered—of the towns of Ghiordes and Kula. I myself was fortunate enough to acquire recently a “Kula” of exceptional merit (such as I have sought in vain in the bazaars of Istanbul today) from amongst the exotic showrooms of Mr. Franes, the well-known connoisseur of Burlington Gardens, in London.

Many of the Seljuk remains in Konya of necessity bear the stamp of neglect and decay—despite the enchantment engendered in their passing glory—yet the Tekke of the Mevlani, though bereft of its former picturesque occupants, would still, as it were, seem to emit that vivifying force which once actuated the lives of those who sleep within its walls.

Within a stone's-throw of the Tekke stands the Selimye Mosque erected during the reigns of Suleyman the Magnificent and Selim II, which, in my humble opinion, constitutes the sole mosque in Konya of the Osmanlı dynasty which may be said to be really worthy of mention, for the city naturally declined in importance upon the downfall of the Seljuks. Whilst the exterior presents no remarkable features, once the threshold is crossed the interior will reveal a “Mimber,” or, as we should describe it, pulpit, executed in multi-coloured marble, and of rare grace and beauty. The fluted conical erection almost invariably surmounting the “Mimber” of a mosque serves, as might be supposed, as a sounding-board when the hoja, or priest, is delivering his exhortation. This mosque is still in use and I observed a solemn and handsome little Turkish boy mechanically repeating extracts from the Koran before his preceptor, though, if the truth must be told, his attention appeared to be not unnaturally somewhat diverted by the spectacle of a palpable foreigner clad in a suit of “plus-fours,” standing six feet five inches in height and busily engrossed in

photographing the interior, for please remember we are in Konya and not Constantinople, where I imagine the populace must be inured to the sight of all manner of grotesque specimens of humanity!

Happily for those of a lethargic disposition, as I have already remarked, many of the loveliest of Konya's mosques and medresahs are to be found within easy walking distance from the hotel and may be comfortably visited during the course of an afternoon, assuming, say, that the morning has been devoted to an inspection of the Tekke. God forbid that I should attempt to lay down any hard-and-fast rule as to the space of time required in order to "do" Konya. To my mind Konya is a town in which one is tempted to linger if one is to enter into the spirit of the past, and if these old relics are to convey something deeper to the imagination than so many "sights" on a list which may be scratched through with a pencil as disposed of once they have been inspected.

We are now dealing entirely with Seljuk remains, the largest of the mosques and that in the finest state of preservation lies in the Ala-ed-din Mosque, which was commenced in the reign of Kilinç Arslan I (the founder of the Seljuk dynasty, q v) and completed by Ala-ed-din Keykubad I in the year 1220. This latter sultan employed a Damascene architect, Mohammed Ben Haulan, in its construction, in consequence of which marked Saracenic influence is discernible both in the marble portal and also in the main hall of the interior, where upwards of fifty columns, carved in varying patterns, support the wooden roof, bearing a marked resemblance to those of some of the mosques of Damascus and Cairo. The exterior of this mosque is not particularly impressive, and unfortunately it is now adapted to military purposes, on which account I was only permitted to view it from without, although at my earnest request I was allowed to inspect the chamber containing the sarcophagi of Kilinç Arslan, Ala-ed-din Keykubad, and their kindred, covered with the deep blue faience so characteristic of the Seljuk dynasty and reflecting beams of melancholy beauty as of approaching twilight. Situated upon a mound not far distant from the mosque is to be seen a shapeless ruin, no more than an unrecognizable mass, constituting the sole existing remains of one of the square towers of the ancient castle of Konya, the greater part of the tower having collapsed some twenty-five years since.

What a romantically lovely old tower it must have been! I was able to secure an early photograph from which it is possible to detect the Cufic inscriptions upon the masonry and the figure of a "Seljuk Lion" possessed of the most enchantingly inane expression imaginable and which one can only visualize standing on wheels in a toyshop! My sole reason for not reproducing this

photograph lies in my desire to attempt to convey to the reader (where space is limited) some of the most interesting features to be seen in the locality *today* and not such as existed a quarter of a century ago!

A mosque, the minaret of which presents a singularly stultified appearance, is to be observed in the vicinity, which is known by the somewhat paradoxical name of the Mosque of the Injeh (*i.e.*, needle-shaped) Minaret, having been completed during the reign of the Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus in the year 1310. Actually the name serves to recall the fluted shaft, covered in its entirety with red and blue faience, which once rose to nearly three times the height of the dome. Alas! nearly fifty years ago the mosque was struck by lightning and almost two-thirds of the minaret crashed to the ground (history does not relate whether any passers-by were standing beneath at the time!). Yet even from the truncated relic that remains one may recapture in part something of the beauty of that tapering spire from which the call to prayer once echoed across the housetops of the ancient city. In contrast with the Persian influence displayed in the design of the minaret (or such portion as remains) is the imposing sandstone portal of this mosque, richly sculptured with intricate arabesques and foliate motifs of Saracenic inspiration. Curiously enough, the faience with which the minaret is encrusted appears in an incomparably finer state of preservation than the mosaics still clinging to parts of the walls of the interior of this mosque, which, of course, are sheltered from the elements. I naturally concluded that the minaret had been restored at a later date, but was informed that this was not the case.

I have no hesitation whatever in describing the Karataylar Medressah as one of, if not *the* most superb specimen of Seljuk art extant. This medressah was built in the year 1271 by the Vizier Karatay-bin-Abdullah, whose tomb it contains and who became famous under the name of the Emir Jeleddin during the reign of the Sultan Keykavus II. The French once sought, though in vain, to acquire what might truly be described as "*un vrai éblouissement, un véritable chef d'œuvre*" and to transport the building piecemeal.

The superb portal consists of a recessed door in carved cedar-wood encased by fluted stone jambs and a lintel surrounded by the most delicate carving. This door is surmounted by seven rows of "stalactite" ornamentation in purest marble, each row of a different pattern, the whole being framed by an arch of small multi-coloured interlacing voussours of Syrian inspiration.

Passing into the interior one is confronted by a court overgrown with weeds and surrounded by the cells of the students of yore, but it is upon entering the mosque of the medressah

itself that the glory of the building becomes apparent. Practically the entire dome as seen from beneath is adorned with the most magnificent faience in rich shades of blue and green that it is possible to conceive. Completely encircling the cupola near its base there is traced in Cufic characters the entire *Surat El Fath* (Chapter of Victory), of which a section is seen in the accompanying photograph (Fig 2), from which may also be observed within this circle "sunburst" motifs of Persian inspiration. Smaller triangles, of which one is shown in its entirety in the illustration, connect as pendentives with four great outer triangles upon which are repeatedly inscribed *ad infinitum* the names of the first four Khalifs, viz, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali.

A bay forming a Persian window on the south side of this main hall is likewise encrusted with the most exquisite mosaics. In a corner I discovered a small heap of these tiles which, I was informed, had become loosened and which were shortly to be replaced. How ardently did I seek to acquire a few as a souvenir of my visit to Konya! Of no avail, however, were my entreaties—my escort was adamant! In truth, it must be admitted they were not his to sell, otherwise I might possibly have returned to the hotel with my entire person fairly bulging and rattling with thirteenth-century Seljuk tiles!

Before taking our leave of Konya I should like to mention the Sirchali Medressah situated in the district of Gazi Alemshah (at no great distance from the hotel), and in this case the most interesting feature is the inner court, over which albeit there broods an air of ineffable melancholy in its decaying splendour. Whilst the covered colonnade surrounding this court is fast crumbling to dust, and much of the paving is scarcely discernible for weeds, whilst the little apricot trees in the centre droop as if in sorrowful retrospect, yet there still cling to the arch of the chapel at the southern end (Fig 3), and to the picturesque little doors by which it is flanked, sufficient mosaics covered with Cufic inscriptions, floral motifs, and dainty arabesques to recall the impression once created by the beauty of their colouring and design upon the minds of the worshippers of old as they knelt in ecstatic devotion within its recesses. The medressah was built by one Bedreddin Musleh in the year 1262, during the reign of Keyhusrey bin Keykubad. I remarked when describing the Selimye Mosque that the "Mimber" corresponded with the pulpit in a church, so likewise may the "Mihrab" be said to correspond in some degree to the altar, in the sense that it constitutes the most important and most sacred feature, consisting as it does of a bay, or niche, cut out of the base of the wall, invariably turned towards Mecca, before and within which are spread the finest carpets and prayer-rugs which the mosque possesses. As might naturally be sup-

posed, the carving of the "Mihrab" is the object of very special care and attention, being frequently carried out in the so-called "stalactite" design so often observed in both the religious and secular art of the Turks

One of the finest Seljuk "Mihrabs" to be found in Konya adorns the ruinous interior of the Sahibata Mosque (Fig 4), erected by one of that name in the year 656 of the Hegira (A D 1259) "Mihrabs" of this design are to be found reproduced in the prayer-arches of the rugs produced in the districts of Ghiordes, Kirshehr, Mudjur, and frequently in those of Konya itself

BROUSSA

Although I did not proceed to Broussa direct from Konya, it is convenient from the point of view of chronological sequence to describe the town at this juncture

Unfortunately my visit had, of necessity, to be somewhat curtailed in order to enable me to catch the boat from Istanbul homewards This state of affairs came about entirely owing to my dilatory habits, since not only had I dallied somewhat in Konya, but upon my return to Istanbul I found myself quite unable to resist an alluring invitation to spend a few days at a charming villa upon the shores of the Bosphorus close to the little town of Therapia

Tradition assigns the foundation of Broussa either to Hannibal about the year 220 B C or to Prusias II, King of the province of Bithynia, from whom it would have received its original name of Prusa Actually, it is probable that Hannibal designed and laid the foundations of the city in token of his appreciation of the refuge afforded him at the Court of this king, and that the latter actually performed most of the "spade work" round about the year 202 B C, just as Hannibal later, in the year 189 B C, drew the plans of the old Armenian capital of Artaxata near the banks of the River Araxes, although in effect this city was subsequently built by King Artaxias, after whom it was, of course, named

Much later Prusa became a Byzantine city of importance under the name of Bursa, or Broussa, and it is to the Greeks that must be attributed the discovery of the thermal waters, so renowned in those distant days that we hear of the Empress Theodosia visiting the city in A D 525 with a suite of no less than four thousand in attendance¹ Between the tenth and the fifteenth century Broussa was the scene of constant warfare, and it was Othman I, the founder of the Osmanlı dynasty, who first invested the city in the year 1317, the blockade having been maintained for a period of ten years, when it fell to his son Orhan while the father lay upon his deathbed His last request was to the effect that here was to

be established the seat of the empire, and that his remains be interred within its walls. The city thus became the Osmanlı or Ottoman capital in the year 1327, and here it remained installed until the conquest of Constantinople under the Sultan Mehmet II Fatih in 1453. Today it boasts a population of about one hundred thousand and is charmingly situated amidst dense vegetation at the base of and to the north of Mount Olympus. The whitewashed houses, with their red-tiled roofs, nestling amidst the shady trees and the abundance of clear, cool water largely derived from the lower banks of the eternal snows of Mount Olympus, which commence to melt after the winter rains are over, together with the innumerable mosques, numbering upwards of two hundred, combine to render Broussa one of the most picturesque and delightful resorts towards which the tourist might well direct his or her footsteps. A new hotel-de-luxe has recently been opened, replete with every conceivable modern comfort "y compris" a first-rate dance orchestra and American bar, together with an irreproachable cuisine. Not unnaturally the charges are in keeping with the surroundings, but there exist other establishments both clean and comfortable, and adapted to those of more modest means. The intending visitor may, however, easily obtain fullest particulars from the offices of Thomas Cook in Istanbul prior to departure.

Now before everything else it is strongly advisable first to ascend the Hisar İchi, or citadel, standing in the centre of and dominating the city, the walls of which are partly of very early date but also largely restored as a result of the successive earthquakes which have rocked Broussa during the passage of the centuries. From the citadel not only may the finest view of the city be secured, but it is also thus possible to obtain a fairly comprehensive idea of the "lay of the land" generally. Although Broussa boasts an immense number of mosques, by far the greater proportion of them are either comparatively modern or of little interest, and it is towards those erected prior to the year 1453—that is to say, under the first five of the Sultans of the Osmanlı dynasty—that one should turn in order to seek acquaintance with those monuments of Oriental splendour which characterized the early art of the Ottoman Empire, an art admittedly inspired in part by that of the Seljuks and to which Byzantine influence has likewise contributed.

The largest of the mosques in Broussa is that actually known by the name of the Ulu Jami, or Great Mosque, standing in the heart of the city and which dominates the scene as observed in the photograph (Fig 5), commenced by Murad I in 1379, continued by Bajazet I, and completed by Mehmet I in 1421.

The court before the mosque appears somewhat neglected and

one seeks in vain for the customary fountain where, as is well known, every true Mussulman performs his ablutions before prostrating himself within the House of Prayer itself. The exterior is chiefly remarkable on account of its size, and more particularly by reason of the fact that in place of the single main dome or cupola usually encountered, in the case of this mosque the roof is comprised of twenty small domes, each covering an arched section of the lower floor, whilst a venerable plane-tree alone rises from the forecourt in place of the cypresses and flowers with which it was doubtless adorned in bygone days. The walls of the interior, once richly decorated, have, alas! been covered with a thick coating of whitewash, upon which have been painted monogrammatic designs in black. The most conspicuous object to be seen inside the mosque consists of a great stone basin, from the centre of which rises a column supporting numerous smaller basins, the water pouring through jets from the upper into the lower, the whole being surrounded by a low railing, and it is here that the Faithful perform their ablutions. The "Mimber"—a veritable masterpiece in carved cedarwood—was fashioned in India, whence it was brought by the Sultan Bajazet I.

But the supreme glory of Broussa and (with the exception of the exquisite Suleyminye Mosque in Istanbul) the most superb monument of Turkish art under the Osmanlı dynasty extant, lies in the famous Yeshil Jami, or Green Mosque, situated in the eastern quarter of the city. Erected entirely in purest marble by the Sultan Mehmet I in the year 1420, it takes its name from the magnificent green faience with which its minarets were once adorned, but which fell to the ground during an earthquake which occurred in the year 1855. The building was, however, restored with great care and devotion by a young Turkish architect, Asim Bey, in 1909, at the time of a visit to Broussa by the Sultan Mehmet V, a restoration largely carried out as the result of a profound study of the beautiful work of Léon Parvillée (*Architecture et décoration turque au quinzième siècle*). I have already endeavoured to outline in my own words the entrancing beauty of some of the more prominent historical landmarks typifying the art of the Turks, an art which I prefer to describe as embodying the finest features of that of the Persians and of the Arabs, but harmonized, embellished, and moulded under the inspiration of the Seljuks and the Osmanlis into the glorious monuments upon which we are happily still able to feast our eyes today. As to the interior of the Yeshil Jami, the photograph (Fig. 6) must suffice as no more than an introduction to the glory of the whole, which must be seen to be realized, yet, perhaps, the description from the pen of M. Pierre Loti which I append affords a not inadequate summary of this unique and sumptuous edifice.

" Sur les murailles, des faïences rares—de celles dont le procédé de coloration est depuis trois cent ans perdu—alternent avec la blancheur des marbres. Les précieux carreaux qui tapissent les différentes loges, représentent d'imaginables fleurs, ont des encadrements et des bordures de tous les bleus—turquoise, depuis la fraîche turquoise couleur de ciel clair jusqu'à la turquoise mourante, s'éteignant dans les verts étranges. Au fond de la mosquée resplendit le mihrab, le très saint portique vers lequel se tournent les fidèles en priant—chef-d'œuvre d'art ancien, très haut et très majestueux, entièrement en faïence, ses fleurs, ses arabesques, ses inscriptions en relief ont des contournements infinis, son ogive à mille brisants est surchargée de stalactites et rappelle les lentes cristallisations aux voûtes des cavernes, et au-dessus de tout, couronnant ces complications amoncelées une série de grandes trèfles polychromes se découpent sur le marbre blanc des murs "

Owing to my all too transitory inspection of Broussa (whither I shall certainly return during the course of my next travels in the Middle East in a month or two's time) much must of necessity remain undescribed, yet before I took my leave of the city I felt it incumbent upon me at least to pay a visit to the "Turbeh" of Othman I, whose sarcophagus is shown in the photograph (Fig 7), the "Turbeh" of his son Orhan I being situated nearby. These tombs are both to be found close to the citadel, being surrounded by a garden through which flows a little stream and where the sweet scent of flowers is wafted on the breeze.

The original sepulchres were, however, destroyed during the course of an earthquake, and those seen today represent the work of the Sultan Abdulaziz during the nineteenth century. Resplendent indeed is that of Othman I, as befits the founder of a great dynasty. Yet how infinitely more impressive must have been the original sarcophagus itself, for the ancient sepulchres of Turkey's Sultans, at all events those of the Seljuks upon which I touched in my description of the Ala-ed-din Mosque at Konya (and doubtless those of the Osmanlis also), required no gorgeous pall such as is seen in the photograph to cover them and which would merely serve to conceal the classic beauty of the workmanship upon which so much reverent and devoted labour had been expended. Suspended diagonally across the front of the catafalque may be seen a broad band of ribbon, the original decoration of the Order of Osmaniye founded by the Sultan Abdulaziz himself, the restorer of the "Turbeh" (q v).

I cannot take my leave of Broussa without a passing reference to its silk industry, which may be traced back to the time of the Emperor Justinian, some superb examples of the art of the weavers of the vilayet of Broussa, many dating from the sixteenth

century, are to be seen in the silk and velvet panels, of which the Victoria and Albert Museum boasts an extensive and most representative range.

ANKARA

And now I come to speak of Angora, the present-day capital of Turkey under the Kemalist régime, or, as it is more popularly termed, Ankara. I spent some days there before setting out upon the journey which formed the subject of my earlier article, and I revisited Ankara in order to pick up the bulk of my luggage before returning to Istanbul.

Much has been written, and stress laid, naturally enough, upon the amazing development of modern Ankara, but before adding my voice to the chorus of praise with which the new capital has been deservedly acclaimed, let us ponder for a moment over the past history of ancient Angora, since ninety-nine people out of a hundred, if interrogated on the subject would doubtless reply, "Angora? Oh yes! that's the place where they breed goats, rabbits, and cats!" Thus, the old town's entire history and industry would appear hitherto to have been confined, in the popular imagination, to the production of untold myriads of the quadrupeds to which its name has lent undying fame! Actually, the date of the foundation of the earliest settlement remains unknown, so dimly does it recede into the mists of antiquity. Certain it is, however, that a city, powerful and prosperous, existed under the name of Ancyra during the Phrygian epoch and which later became the seat of a Gallic tribe known as the Tectosages in the year 200 B.C. When, however, the province of Galatea came under the sway of Rome the name Ancyra (derived from the Greek word signifying "anchor," a device which appeared in the city's coinage) was changed to Sebaste (*se*, respected) in honour of Augustus Cæsar, and it was during the Roman epoch, extending from the year 25 B.C. to A.D. 324, that the ancient city attained the zenith of its fame.

Surely but few cities can have passed through so many vicissitudes! Around but few indeed can the din of battle have so continuously echoed with the passage of the centuries. Captured successively by Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, Chosroes the Persian, and Haroun-el-Raschid, yet again by the Seljuk Turks and by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon, who held it for eighteen years, it ultimately passed into the hands of the Osmanli Turks, though previously Tamerlane had witnessed from a nearby hill, named after him to this day, the defeat of the armies of Bajazet I. on July 2, 1402, a defeat which took place upon the very ground where long centuries before Pompey had vanquished

the forces of Mithridates, the adventurous father-in-law of the renowned Armenian King, Tigranes the Great

Now this city lay largely upon and at the base of the hill which rises to a height of some five hundred feet above the plain whereon the modern capital has been, and still is in process of being constructed. I spent many an interesting hour wandering through the narrow streets with which the ancient "citadel" is intersected. Most of the old Turkish dwellings are primitive enough and appear to be inhabited largely by gypsy folk garbed in picturesque and highly coloured (if none too cleanly¹) costumes. They are friendly creatures, these Tziganys, particularly the children, who swarm like rabbits amidst the old fortifications which once guarded the approach to the citadel. Picturesque indeed are the ancient Turkish walls of Angora, of which a section is shown in the photograph (Fig 8), constructed of great rough-hewn grey stones which contain many fragments of old Roman masonry, inserted apparently quite haphazard, and upon which are to be frequently found inscriptions and other interesting archæological material. Three rows of these fortifications rise in tiers upon the slopes of the citadel, breathing, as it were, grim defiance upon the twentieth-century capital below. Of the essentially Roman remains, however, incomparably the most arresting are comprised in the Temple of Augustus, with its noble archway still standing at the base of the hill and within which are ranged today a number of "Hittite" remains found in the vicinity.

I am glad that this article is appearing at such an appropriate season, since the "Marmor Ancyranum," an inscription recorded in Latin and in Greek upon the "antæ" and the outer walls of the "cella" of the Temple respectively, recall the deeds and conquests of the Emperor Augustus, in which specific reference is made to the famous edict contained in the age-old Gospel story "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed everyone into his own city." Thus, as all the Christian world knows, did it come about that Joseph and Mary journeyed from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the City of David, and where the momentous event took place which we have so recently celebrated.

These inscriptions on sandstone were copies made from the bronze tablets in Rome whereon were recorded important events which occurred during the lifetime of the great Cæsar.

Against the south face of the Temple stands the Mosque of Hadjı Baram, a little dream sanctuary erected by the famous Turkish architect Sinan during the sixteenth century, whose crowning achievement, however, as is well known, lay in the construction of the loveliest of Constantinople's many lovely

mosques—that of the Sultan Suleyman Adjoining the mosque is to be seen the “Turbeh” of Hadji Bairam, who became celebrated as a learned theologian during the reign of Ala-ed-din Kaikubad I, and who founded an order of Dervishes named after him He died in the year 1220 and it is rather touching to observe the strips of material, offerings of the devout, suspended from the handles of the doors giving access to the tomb Hadji Bairam, incidentally, belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Galatea, and I believe that direct descendants of this Moslem saint still reside in Angora today

It is well worth while to ascend to the summit of the citadel, if only to enjoy the magnificent view of the surrounding country, here, in fair weather, you may gaze across the undulating hills to the blue mountains in the north, towards the long crest of Elma Dag, or Apple Mountain in the south, and yet again will your eyes rest upon the rosy-tinted peaks in the west

And now let us turn from the Angora of the past to the Ankara of the present—in every possible sense the very heart through which pulsates the life-blood of the Turkish nation of today What a contrast it presents indeed! for in place of those ancient grey fortifications, in place of the straggling narrow streets and the quaint old Turkish houses by which they are overshadowed, there stands spread out upon the plain below a city of spacious tree-lined boulevards, of gleaming white buildings, a city of bustle and activity, of cars rushing to and fro, where everyone appears to have a job to perform and to be imbued with the all-absorbing, ardent desire to fulfil his or her part, be it in greater or lesser degree, towards the rebuilding of a great nation It almost goes without saying that you will find in Ankara similar accommodation to that which I have already described as prevailing in Broussa The Ankara Palace is to be recommended if you desire (or rather, if you can afford!) to revel in the opulent surroundings of a hotel-de-luxe, while the Belle-vue Palace provides complete comfort under a somewhat less pretentious régime There is also to be found within a stone's-throw of either (for they are both situated in a central position) a most excellent restaurant known as the “Karpich,” where all the “elect” of the capital are in the habit of foregathering, and where I recall partaking of a first-rate dinner as the guest of Mr Gunningham, the Archivist of the British Embassy I cannot too highly recommend this centre of Ankara's night-life, which, I understand, is not infrequently patronized by the “Ghazi” himself, of whom a truly noble stone statue, finely conceived and designed, adorns the main square of the city not far distant

The Parliament House and many other important buildings in the city are executed in the style which might be described as

"Neo-Turkish" architecture, a style both striking, dignified, and pleasing, of which innumerable illustrations have already appeared in the Press, and which I am thankful to say maintains features of the exquisite early national art I have endeavoured to briefly outline (with the consciousness of many shortcomings) in the course of this article. The Government Offices, lying on the outskirts of the city, are constructed for the most part in the monolithic and strictly utilitarian style which, frankly, I abominate, but where the caller—at all events in so far as the Ministry of the Interior is concerned—(and I have every reason to suppose that the same procedure is adopted throughout) is treated with a courtesy and efficiency, from the moment he enters until his business is concluded, that I would gladly see adopted in the Departmental Offices of some other capitals.

The various Embassies and Legations are situated at Chankaya, some five or six miles outside the city, and here also is to be found the residence of the "Ghazi" (or "Victor") himself. As an obscure individual having no political mission to perform, to my regret I never was privileged to make the personal acquaintance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, whom it is no exaggeration to describe quite simply as the saviour of his country. I once enquired of a Turkish gentleman as to who, in his opinion, was destined to succeed him. He replied that this was a question to which he could vouchsafe no answer, but I believe it to be true to say that from the highest to the lowest throughout the length and breadth of this historic land, one fervent hope is implanted in the breast of every true Turkish patriot today—the hope that their leader and their liberator may be spared to witness the fulfilment of his life's work in the establishment of their country upon strong and sure foundations, upon foundations which shall ensure for her in perpetuity an honoured place in the counsels of the great nations of the earth.

THE MACHINERY OF ECONOMIC UPLIFT IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

A LECTURE TO THE BURMA ECONOMIC SOCIETY

By J S FURNIVALL

(i c s , retired)

ECONOMIC uplift is not the same as economic progress, they may go together, but they are different things. There may be economic progress without economic uplift and economic uplift without economic progress. For example, in Java, as in Burma, the oil-fields form an economic enclave, they contribute to economic progress, to an increase in the net production of wealth, but they contribute little or nothing to economic uplift, the advancement of the people. On the other hand, the Government there is contemplating a quota system with a view to building up the weaving industry, this may contribute to the advancement of the people without adding to the net aggregate of wealth produced. French writers on the functions of Government in a tropical dependency draw a similar distinction between *la mise en valeur de la richesse naturelle* and *la mise en valeur de la richesse humaine*,* between making the most of the country and making the best of the people. The economic uplift of a country may, then, be defined as the advancement of its people by developing their latent or potential productive capabilities.

BURMA AND JAVA COMPARED

The English tradition in this matter is one of *laissez faire*, that if people cannot save themselves without the help of government they are not, humanly speaking, worth saving. But that is not a bit the Dutch tradition, at least in their colonies. Just a hundred years ago, the Dutch in the Indies were embarking on the interesting experiment known as the Culture System. I do not propose to describe or discuss the Culture System here, and mention it only to illustrate the Dutch tradition in colonial administration. Briefly, the Culture System had two outstanding features: one, that the Government controlled all the productive resources of the country, the other, that its object was to make as much as possible out of the country to benefit the taxpayer in the Netherlands. It was State exploitation, paternal government with a

* Sarraut, *La Mise en Valeur des Colonies Françaises* (1923), p. 88

more than Roman father During the last half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of liberal ideas and liberal capitalists, there was a reaction against State exploitation, but the tradition of government intervention in economic life survived, though in the form of protection instead of exploitation In Burma, the typical native civil servant is a magistrate, in Java, the typical native civil servant has no magisterial powers under the penal code and only very restricted civil powers, he may be described, in the words of a senior Dutch official, as a "welfare officer" As I went about the country examining various aspects of the administration, I could not help recalling the old hymn "Can a woman's tender care cease towards the child she bare?" The present system of government is, in fact, reproached with being, not paternal, but maternal—grandmotherly Scoffers talk of babu government in Java as they do in Burma, but whereas our word *babu* signifies a clerk, their word *baboe* signifies an ayah, a nursemaid Thus in the Dutch system a policy of economic uplift finds congenial soil, and there is no objection on principle to measures which aim at turning to account the fund of human wealth It is therefore not surprising that economic uplift is the main function of one of the main Departments of Civil Administration, the Department of Economic Affairs

THE DUTCH COLONIAL DEPARTMENT

But I should explain here what the Dutch understand by a "department" The Dutch administrative system is so different from ours that when we do both happen to use the same term, we ordinarily, if not invariably, use it with different meanings That is true of the word "department" We in Burma have our departments the Land Records Department, the Agricultural Department, and so on But in Java the Department, as we know it in Burma, would be termed a Service, and their corresponding organizations are the Land Records Service, the Agricultural Service, etc A Department in their sense is something that we do not have in Burma, it is a group of services presided over by a Director who is not only the administrative head of all these services, but deals also with all cognate matters Functional organization is far more elaborate with them Typically, our organization is territorial and theirs is functional, where we have eight Commissioners ruling territorial Divisions, they have six Directors in charge of different administrative functions During the last few years they have made experiments in building up a more elaborate territorial organization, but the Directors and Departments are of long standing and have a statutory basis in the first parliamentary Constitution for the Indies, the *Regeeringsregle-*

ment of 1854, Arts 64, 65 There are, since January 1, 1934, six great Departments of Civil Administration, dealing respectively with Justice, Finance, Internal Administration, Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Civil Public Works, and Economic Affairs

The Department of Economic Affairs has grown out of the Department of Agriculture, which was constituted in 1904 at the instance of Mr Treub, then Director of the Botanical Gardens, who urged on the Government the need for organizing its various activities in respect of agriculture Thus it was among the earliest achievements of the strong constructive impulse which has been a keynote of Dutch colonial policy during the past generation For some years commercial and industrial activities were still distributed capriciously over various departments, though mostly assigned to the Department of Education, Ecclesiastical Affairs and Industry—rather a strange mixture In 1907, however, the Department of Government Enterprises was established for the care of State Production, Utilities and Monopolies, and in 1911 the Department of Agriculture was reorganized as the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce Since January 1 of the present year, this Department has taken over many of the functions of the Department of Government Enterprises, which has been abolished, and it is now known, more compendiously, as the Department of Economic Affairs The following remarks, however, describe the arrangements which existed when I visited Java at the end of 1933, apart from the allocation of certain new functions to the Director, they are still very much the same

THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

As I have already mentioned, the economic advancement of the people is the main function of the Department of Economic Affairs, it is the mainspring in the machinery of economic uplift. But it is far more than that, for the Director has to deal with all aspects of economic development, with *la mise en valeur de la richesse naturelle* as well as with *la mise en valeur de la richesse humaine*, with economic progress as well as economic uplift And in this connection it should be remembered that in Java the State and European enterprise contribute much more largely to production than in Burma In Burma, the Burman grows the paddy, the foreigner exports it, and the State preserves law and order, in Java, however, the State and the foreigner work side by side with the native in production, and until quite recently grew the bulk of the export produce Although, however, both native and European production are the concern of the Director, they concern him in different degrees and, in the words of the latest edition of the Regeerings-Almanak, the Department "is primarily

concerned with framing measures whereby the permanent improvement of native agricultural production may be ensured." Its connection with State and European production is less intimate. The Director either supervises or keeps in touch with various institutions for scientific research, and is responsible for State Plantations, he also maintains relations with various private organizations for the improvement of European agriculture. But for improving native production there are various services under his direct control, these comprise a group belonging to the Agricultural Branch (*afdeeling*), also the Forest and Civil Veterinary Services, and the Services of the Industrial and Commercial Branches. He is also in charge of the Office for Government Purchases, and the Bureau of Weights and Measures. The various activities of his Department are reviewed and tabulated in a Central Office for Statistics which publishes the annual statutory Report, the *Indisch Verslag*, a valuable handbook (in Dutch or English), periodically revised, and a weekly newspaper in Dutch, the *Economisch Weekblad*, with a fortnightly edition in English, the *Economic Bulletin*. These multifarious activities may conveniently be grouped under three heads according as they relate to Scientific Research, to European production, and to Native production.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

The Scientific Institutions comprise the Council of Natural Science, and various institutions for research in Pure and Applied Science, under the latter head may be included the Government Plantations. Institutions of an industrial or commercial character will be mentioned in connection with those Branches.

(a) *The Council of Natural Science* Formerly the care for Natural Science as a whole was left to private bodies, at first to the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences and, after 1850, to the Natural History Association. But in 1928 a Council of Natural Science was founded. This comprises thirty Members nominated by the Governor-General, and has a Government Servant for its Librarian. Its functions are to advise the Government in matters of natural science, to link up scientists in Netherlands India with one another and with those of other lands, and to promote such projects and researches as require the co-operation of scientific workers and the support of Government.

(b) *The Institutions for Pure Science* in its various branches are grouped together, so far as possible, with the Director of the State Botanical Gardens as their head. These comprise, in addition to an administrative section, the Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg and Tjibodas, the Herbarium and Museum of Systematic Botany, the Botanical Laboratory, with sub-sections for Biology and

Physiology, the Zoological Museum, the Marine Biological Laboratory and Aquarium, and the Phytochemical Laboratory

(c) *The Institutions for Applied Science* comprise various organizations which formerly were independent, but were amalgamated in 1918 in the General Agricultural Experimental Station with various Sections the Laboratory Section, with separate Chemical, Botanical and Microbiological Laboratories, the Geological Institute, the Institute for Plant Diseases, the Agricultural Institute, with three separate subsections for Agricultural Science, Seed-selection for Annuals and Seed-selection for Perennials, and the Coconut Experimental Station in Marado

(d) *The Government Plantations* were among the earliest of these scientific and quasi-scientific institutions. Formerly, under the Culture System, when agricultural production was wholly under the control of Government, little or no attention was paid to the improvement of agriculture, and the economists of that time criticized the system, not so much because it was immoral as because it was ineffective. In this respect the introduction of cinchona in 1854 was a new departure. It was the first step in the direction of aiming at the improvement of production rather than at profit. There are now two groups of Government Plantations, the Cinchona and Tea Estate and the Rubber Business (*'s Lands kine- en theeonderneming* and *'s Lands Caoutchouc-bedrijf*)

The Cinchona and Tea Estate is the original experimental garden, where, since 1926, tea also has been cultivated. The Director of the Estate, although directly subordinate to the Director of the Department, is not himself a government servant. All the subordinate employees also are in the position of the employees of a private firm. The Estate is managed on commercial lines and publishes an annual balance-sheet and statement of profit and loss. In addition to the revenue from cinchona, profits are made by the sale of seeds, seedlings and grafts to the public. Formerly it maintained an Experimental Station, but in 1927 this was made over to a private Association of Cinchona Planters. The history of this Estate suggests the utility of institutions of this type, not only for economic progress, but for economic uplift, for in 1872 European planters took to the cultivation of cinchona and of recent years there has been an increasing production on native homesteads. More than once the spread of production has been a source of embarrassment. Towards the end of the eighties over-production by European planters reduced the price to an unremunerative level, until production was brought under control in 1898 by the erection of the Bandoeng Quinine Factory. This restored equilibrium until in recent years the spread of cultivation among natives gave the Japanese a chance to enter the market,

and it is said that they are now buying up the whole native output, which they control by a system of advances. In 1926, in view of the uncertain prospects of cinchona, the cultivation of tea was undertaken, and by 1930, in addition to 2,000 acres under cinchona, about 300 acres had reached the stage of producing tea.

The other plantations, constituting the Rubber business, originated in some rubber plantations laid out by the Forest Department in 1900 and subsequently transferred to the Agricultural Department. As on the Cinchona Estate, the Director and his staff are not government servants, but are private employees of the government, and depend for part of their remuneration on the profits of the business. The Director of the Rubber business also supervises some plantations in Sumatra, which grow rubber, coconut, gutta-percha, oil-palms, and kapok, and he also looks after an industrial enterprise for converting resin into turpentine. Altogether, he is in charge of nineteen estates. The Rubber business, like the Cinchona Estate, has played its part in economic uplift. Coconut and kapok have always been mainly native products, and rubber cultivation has been taken up by the natives so largely that it is now a considerable and disturbing factor in world production.

EUROPEAN PRODUCTION

These partly autonomous institutions, from the Council of Natural Science down to the Government Plantations, link up with modern science the whole machinery of agricultural improvement, public and private, European and native. But, until 1918, apart from the indirect assistance furnished by these institutions, the main European agricultural enterprises, the so-called "great cultures," received little support from the Department. The constitution of a separate Branch for Agricultural Economy in 1918 was intended mainly to serve European planters, but has, in fact, turned rather to the advantage of the native cultivators. The foundation of the General Agricultural Experimental Station in the same year has accomplished more for European enterprise, but still more helpful is the official recognition accorded by Government to certain private organizations. These associations of planters are an outstanding feature in the agricultural development of the Netherlands Indies. The lead was taken by the sugar planters during the eighties when they were threatened with ruin by a coincidence of plant diseases and low prices. Instead of waiting for Government to help them, they established three independent experimental stations. One soon disappeared, but the others were amalgamated in the present Experimental Station for the Java Sugar Industry. Most of the factories belong to this organization and contribute to its annual income of £100,000, which

served, until the crisis of 1930, to give Java a leading place in the world production of sugar. There is also a separate Union of Java Sugar Producers for the sale of sugar, and a Syndicate of Sugar Planters to promote the general interests of the industry. The other planters followed suit by establishing four powerful Unions for Tea, Cinchona, Coffee and Cocoa, and Rubber. These four Unions are now amalgamated in the United Agricultural Syndicate, which does much the same work as the similar organizations in the sugar industry, including the maintenance of four Experimental Stations, one for each group of planters. These associations have their headquarters in Java, but there are also similar associations in the other islands, notably the Union of Tobacco Planters in East Sumatra, which maintains an Experimental Station for tobacco, and the General Union of Rubber Planters, etc., which maintains Experimental Stations for rubber, oil-palms, tea and other plantation crops. These various institutions transact their business with government through three advisory committees—the General Syndicate of Sugar Producers, the United Agricultural Syndicate, and the Union of Tobacco Planters of East Sumatra, which are officially recognized as authoritative. All these representative bodies are themselves represented on a general Federation of Indian Industry and Commerce, the *Indische Ondernemersbond*, the President of which is a member of a special Economic Committee charged with advising Government on economic affairs. Thus, in respect of European enterprise, which can look after itself, the direct assistance of Government is regarded as unnecessary, and any intervention of Government is ordinarily intended to protect the nation, and falls outside the scope of the Department of Economic Affairs.

NATIVE PRODUCTION

In assisting native enterprise, however, Government is directly interested. Agriculture is the main occupation of the natives and, consequently, the most important branch of the Department is that dealing with agriculture. The work of the Agricultural Branch is distributed over five sections concerned respectively with Agriculture, Horticulture, Agricultural Economy, Fisheries, and Education. It is somewhat difficult to describe the administrative organization because this differs in different sections and different regions. The Head of the Agricultural Branch is assisted by three Inspectors, of whom one is in general charge of agriculture in the Outer Provinces (*i.e.*, the islands other than Java and Madoera) and one is in charge of horticulture. The three recently constituted Provinces of East, Middle and West Java are largely autonomous in respect of Agriculture, in each of them there is an

Inspector who is under the Head of the Agricultural Branch in his professional capacity and under the Provincial Governor and Council in his administrative capacity. In the native States of Soerakarta and Djokyakarta, the senior agricultural officer acts as an Inspector for both governments in addition to his ordinary duties.

Below the Inspectors there are Agricultural Advisers (*Landbouwconsulenten*) who, after a prescribed period of approved service, are eligible for promotion to the rank of *Landbouwconsulent, 1st Class*. Some of these are natives, but all must have taken a degree in Agricultural Science at Wageningen in the Netherlands. Hitherto their pay has been of the order of f 400 to f 2,000, but the recent depression has necessitated severe cuts. (In the same grade there are still some Agricultural Experts, *landbouwkundige ambtenaren*, who were trained in Java, but these are gradually being eliminated.) Next to the Consulents come the Adjunct-consulents, natives who have been trained at the Middle School for Agriculture at Buitenzorg. These are also eligible for promotion to a first class after approved service. Before the depression their pay ran from f 130 to f 500. Below these are the *Opzichters*, who have been trained at Soekaboemi or Malang. These start on f 70 and rise to f 200, with prospects of promotion to a first class rising to f 300. The lowest grade in the service consists of *Man-doers*, who are employed on observing experiments and similar mechanical tasks. These are mostly the sons of agriculturists and have attended the native second-class school, corresponding roughly with our Vernacular Middle School. They start on f 20 and can rise to f 50.

The main function of the Agricultural Service, which is known officially as the Agricultural Information Service (*Landbouwvoorlichtingsdienst*) is to furnish technical information with the object of improving native practice on scientific principles and also (which is at least equally important) of adapting scientific principles to native practice. The Advisers have, moreover, *ex officio*, a place on the local Irrigation Committee, which normally consist of a Civil Servant, an Irrigation Officer, and an Agricultural Adviser, and before the lease of land to Europeans they must also be consulted as to the manner in which the concession will affect native interests.

FISHERIES

The Horticultural Section and Fisheries Section, although naturally on a much smaller scale than the Agricultural Section, are organized on similar lines and perform corresponding functions. The Fisheries Section, however, has features of especial interest. The fisheries comprise both inland fisheries and sea

fisheries, the latter including also pearl fisheries. The industry is important as furnishing one of the main articles of food, and also as being—until recent incursions by the Japanese—wholly in native hands. The inland fishing is a domestic industry on a small scale, but sea fishing proper is professional, and in view of the small part which the people in general play in commerce, it is of interest to note that, before the crisis spoiled their market, Javanese merchants sent whole train-loads of fish to the sugar estates up country. The inland fisheries consist mainly of small tanks, in which fish are cultivated, and it is estimated that in Java there are some 100,000 acres of fresh water fish ponds and about twice that area of fish ponds with brackish water. The encouragement of native fishery is even more difficult than the encouragement of native agriculture, but for fifteen years or more the Government has attempted to tackle the problem. For some years preliminary experiments were made by three Fishery Advisers, but since 1928 a regular Fishery Service has been constituted under an enthusiast, Dr Buschkiel, with the assistance of two Fishery Consultants, who are Doctors of Science, and ten Fishery Officers, who received a special training at a Fishery School in Holland. There are also three native Adjunct Vischerij-consulenten, who have specialized in Fishery after passing through the Agricultural School at Buitenzorg, and a subordinate staff of Fishery Overseers and Officers (*Opziener* and *Mantri*). As in the Agricultural Service, scientific research is considered as important as field work.

The study of the Sea Fisheries may be dated as far back as 1906, when a Salt Water Aquarium was opened in Batavia. During 1914 three fishermen were brought out from Europe, but they did not achieve much on account, apparently, of the lack of skilled direction, and the experiment was abandoned in 1922. Here, as in all other aspects of economic uplift, both science and sympathy were needed, and during the last few years great progress has been made under the guidance of Dr Bottemann, a trained economist, with a special interest in fisheries. His practical handling of the problems gave such promising results that, even at the height of the present depression, with pay and staff being reduced all round, he has been allowed to recruit two new assistants from Holland.*

One of the outstanding features of the machinery of economic uplift in Java is the attention paid to the practical aspect of the problem. Money spent on crop improvement is wasted if, owing to some special character in the agricultural economy, the improvements cannot be adopted. We have just noticed the officer in charge of sea fisheries is a professional economist. The same

* For fuller details, see Furnivall, *Fisheries in Netherlands Indies* (University of Rangoon, 1934)

principle finds recognition in the constitution of a special Section to study agricultural economy. This section was originally founded in 1918 to study the factors conditioning the success of the "great cultures," but it has come to be concerned mainly with native economics, and acts as a link between the Agricultural Department and the Popular Credit Organization, so far has this been carried that the present Adviser for Co-operation was originally a member of the economic section of the Agricultural Service.

But economic uplift, for any considerable results, depends on education, and agricultural uplift depends on agricultural education. In this matter the Dutch had much the same experience as we have had in Burma, but they seem to have derived more profit from it. "We started" (I quote, by permission, from some remarks of the Director of Education, Dr. B. O. Schrieke) "by teaching other people how to teach other people how to teach other people agriculture, but soon realized that we had taken the wrong line. We ourselves did not know enough about native agriculture. Then we tried another plan. We set an agriculturist down in a village to study the local agricultural economy, the conditions of land-holding, cultivation and marketing, and to get to know the local people. When he knew enough about local agriculture to be able to improve on native methods, he invited the peasants to send their sons to him, and showed them by practical experience that improved methods would yield more profitable results. When he had taught the people all he could, he moved on to repeat the process in another district. On this plan we seem to be getting at the native agriculturist and inducing him to adopt methods which pay him better." Unfortunately circumstances did not permit me to see anything quite like this in operation, but certainly it seems the right method.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Space does not permit of describing the organization and work of the Veterinary and Forest Services, but it may be mentioned incidentally that since 1897 the Forests have gradually been taken over by Government. I must pass on, however, to the Industries Division. The fostering of native industry received little attention until 1902, when the Dutch Parliament was greatly exercised by allegations regarding the diminishing welfare of the natives. This led to various enquiries and reports, but there was no appreciable advance until the war of 1914-1918 made people realize the dependence of Java on the outside world. In 1915 a Commission was appointed to investigate the prospects of developing large-scale industry and a member of the States-General, Vam Kol,

noted for his sympathetic interest in the natives, was sent to study the development of large-scale industry in Japan. In 1916 Industrial Advisers were appointed, and in 1918 the Industrial Branch of the Department was constituted. The Head of the Department wished to confine his activities to the promotion of native industry and, although this proposal was overruled on principle, it seems to have been adopted in practice. Meanwhile experts had been sent out from the Netherlands to study the improvement of brick and pottery. At that time tiled roofs were considered a prophylactic against plague, and "soft pressure was exercised from above" to encourage the people to roof their houses with tiles. One result has been that tiles cost, I was told, no more than 5 or 7 guilders a thousand, and almost all the houses in the country are tiled, which conveys to anyone from Burma an impression of considerable wealth. In 1919 a Ceramic Laboratory was opened under an expert, and in 1921 an Institute for promoting the Textile Industry was founded at Bandoeng, a branch of this has since been started at Jokakarta. An experimental rope factory opened in 1919 at Cheribon proved unsuccessful and was closed down in 1921. At present there are three laboratories for the study respectively of brick-making and pottery, of tanning and of textile manufacture, and each of these provides facilities for technical instruction. Recently the textile industry has been advancing with great strides, and Europeans are beginning to take an interest in it. There are now four factories which employ 100 to 300 looms, a few others with 40 to 80 and numerous smaller factories with 20 to 40 looms. The competition of the Japanese has, of course, hit this infant industry severely, but for certain kinds of cloth the local weavers seem able to hold their own. And at Jokyakarta I saw three Europeans who had lost their means of livelihood owing to the slump in sugar, working side by side with the native apprentices, learning practical weaving with a view to setting up small factories on the completion of the course. In some of the larger weaving factories mechanical looms have been introduced, but the ordinary loom used at Bandoeng is a hand-loom, of which the original was imported from the Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura. Other notable industries are cigarette-making, hat-making, and, within the last year or two, the manufacture of cigarette lighters. These cigarette lighters seem to be the direct outcome of an increase in the tax on matches. Apparently the first instinct of the Finance Department was to get its own back by taxing the lighter, but the Economic Committee mentioned above came to the rescue and protested against laying a tax on an infant industry in these hard times. Now one can buy these lighters all over Java for an anna or so.

In the advancement of the native in commerce the Dutch seem

to have been less successful. In Java, as in Burma, the natives have little part in commerce except for petty retail trade, mostly in the hands of women. In the European stores the responsible assistants are all Europeans and in the Chinese shops all the assistants are Chinese, the native has not had an opening. This has given the Japanese an opportunity which they have not been slow to take. Now, in all the larger towns, one can find Japanese shops where all the employees, except for two or three supervisors, are Javanese, a matter which contains elements of danger to Dutch rule. (It is of interest that in these shops all the goods are marked and sold at fixed prices.)

This brief and inadequate attempt to describe the main features of the Department of Economic Affairs justifies me, I submit, in terming it the mainspring of economic uplift. But it is only the mainspring and, like the mainspring of any other system of machinery, it must be wound up, and it works indirectly. These two aspects of its working will call for our attention, but we may pause here to consider the three general principles which it embodies: scientific research, economic study, and the co-ordination of related activities in a single large Department. Economic uplift must be based on modern science, and in the Department of Economic Affairs we see specialists in all the various activities of native life linked up in a pyramid of scientific institutions, crowned by the Council of Natural Science, which has the special function of co-ordinating scientific work. But science can do little without sympathy, and can contribute nothing to economic uplift unless informed by a sympathetic understanding of the people and their difficulties, here the economist steps in. Science can contribute to production, but production on an economic basis is dependent on demand. An improved loom, for example, is no improvement from the economic standpoint if there is no market for its products, and it is as difficult to organize the market as to improve the loom. Here again one must recognize the advantage of a large Department. The expert in agriculture, fisheries, or textiles each has his special problems, but the problem of organizing demand has much in common in every occupation and a solution is most likely to be attained if those working on it can pool their experience and results. Thus the combination within one large department of diverse branches of scientific research and economic study must be regarded as a notable contribution to the technique of economic uplift.

Let us turn now to consider how this machinery is set in motion. The immediate responsibility for keeping it going rests on the Director of the Department. Now the field of vision of the Director is not likely to extend beyond the limits of his own Department, there is a danger of Departmentalism. This danger

is less acute in the Netherlands Indies than in Burma, not only because the Departments are so much larger and Departmentalism correspondingly less pernicious, but because the barriers separating Departments are less formidable. An officer is commonly transferred from one Department to another. Thus, a late Director of Finance was formerly an officer in the Forest Service, and a Director of Economic Affairs started life as an Engineer in the Public Works Department, an Adviser for Co-operation originally joined the Agricultural Department and a Professor of Constitutional Law in the Law High School was at one time a Civil Servant. Even with this fluidity between the Departments a Director must still find it difficult to look over the walls of his Department. But life is not cut up into Departments like a system of administration, and any attempt to solve economic problems departmentally is foredoomed to failure. The system in the Netherlands Indies provides, however, for co-ordinating the Departments. There is a Council of Departmental Heads which meets periodically with the Senior Director as their Chairman. In this Council, the Departmental heads can examine their individual problems from a wider standpoint and thus adjust differences and supplement deficiencies. Such periodical discussions must be of great value as an antidote to Departmentalism and should contribute materially to the solution of problems which touch life at so many points as do the problems connected with economic uplift. But this Council serves not only for the organization of thought and knowledge, it operates also as an organization of will. When a policy has once found the approval of such a Council it ceases to be merely a Departmental policy and becomes the embodiment of the general will of the administration. Moreover, the Directors of a Department come and go, but the Council remains in being as a constant source of energy.

SCIENTIFIC PRESS

But there is still another source of energy which sets the machinery in action. Even a superficial acquaintance with the history of Dutch colonial administration shows the remarkable influence which has been exercised by periodical literature, official, demi-official, and unofficial. An article by de Wolff van Westendorp in the official *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid en Landbouw* was the starting point of the system of popular credit, one by Van Deventer in the *Gids* is usually taken as inaugurating the modern constructive period of colonial policy, the so-called "ethical" policy, which took its title from a brochure by Brooschooft in 1901, and a quite recent article, "Old Glory," by the late Professor Von Vollenhoven in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, seems likely to turn

the current of administration in a new direction. Many of the Departments run their own periodical for the discussion of departmental problems, but other periodicals are of more general interest. Conspicuous among these are the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, published by the Indian Civil Servants' Association, the *Koloniale Studien*, formerly the official organ of the Civil Service and now edited by a Board of leading Civil Servants, and the *Indische Gids*. In the Library of the Batavian Association one can find upwards of 30 periodicals of serious interest, largely devoted to the discussion of current problems. This periodical literature serves for the ventilation and discussion of new ideas and for the study and elucidation of facts, which otherwise would remain unknown, and, taken in the mass, makes available for constructive purposes a tremendous and very powerful organization of thought and knowledge, and the far-reaching effects merely of the two articles cited above by de Wolff and Van Deventer show how large a part this literature plays in driving the machinery of economic uplift.

In this connection it deserves notice also that where the administrative organization is functional the administrative machinery encounters less friction than where the organization is territorial. With a territorial organization all constructive work and everything beyond routine is centred in one man, a passing figure who is at the head of local affairs for so short a period that he can rarely exercise lasting influence. With each new head, administrative policy is continually wrenched in a different, often an opposite, direction. But with a functional organization, the continuity of the Department makes for continuity of policy, and I owe to Professor Logemann of the School of Law in Batavia the interesting suggestion that this may be the explanation of the continuity of policy which is noticeable in the administration of the Netherlands Indies.

Finally, just a word as to how the system works. It works very largely through the medium of the Civil Servants, especially of the native Civil Servants. In theory, the specialist advises and the Civil Servant interprets his advice, and in practice there seemed to be quite a remarkable attainment of co-operation and co-ordination between the executive officers of the various Departments and the Civil Service. We have noticed above that the Agricultural Officer served on the local Irrigation Committee with the Resident and the Irrigation Officer. He is also *ex officio* a Director of the Divisional Bank. But for the most part the co-operation is less formal. One outstanding feature of the administrative system in the Netherlands is the holding of periodical Conferences, ordinarily once a month, by all officials from the Village Headman up to the Resident. In these Conferences all matters of current interest are discussed and the attendance of officers belonging

to Departments interested in the matter for discussion may be invited. Thus, at a Conference of Village Officers held by a Circle Officer, the Village Irrigation Heads and the local Veterinary Assistant were present for the discussion respectively of village irrigation and the castration of cattle. A Fishery Officer was also present to advise the people about fish cultivation. In some places, at least, the Sub-Inspector of Education (*Opziener*) attends the Circle Conference to examine and discuss the percentage of non-attendance at the village schools. In this manner the Civil Servant helps the Specialist to educate the people in all the activities of village life.

Here, then, in brief outline is the machinery of economic uplift in Netherlands India. It is permissible to contend that it is useless, or even worse than useless. In Java itself criticism of this kind has become more audible during recent years. At a famous Conference of Residents in 1924 one officer stated the dilemma "If Government abstains from intervention, then everything sinks into a quagmire, but if Government intervenes, it introduces Western ideas with every chance that they will miscarry." Another, one of the most respected senior officers who had himself in earlier days been conspicuous in promoting native industries, advocated as the correct policy, "Look after law and order and beyond that leave them alone" (*Stel de landsbelangen veilig, en verder leave them alone*). The policy of uplift was criticized more pungently by a flippant youth who probably voiced the table talk of his seniors in saying "a man cannot scratch his head unless a Civil Servant gives him leave, and a specialist shows him how to do it." Frankly, I cannot picture a Burman taking kindly to the coddling which the Javanese receives. The Javanese permits the Veterinary Department to select the cattle for castration, but the Madurese, more independent, would rather slaughter them than comply with the instructions of the Veterinary Assistant. Only too often (so it is commonly alleged) Government does not merely show the cultivator how to scratch his head, but scratches it for him, the Village Bank is really a Government Bank, the Village School is really a Government School and the whole policy of uplift is merely "oil to make a shining countenance" (*voor den fraaien salven der schijn*), just "hyper-ethical." And here the critics are denounced as "hyper-ethnological" and there is all the making of a pretty quarrel, in which a prudent observer from outside will take no part.

But this is certain, that economic construction in the East demands the co-operation of the West, and in adapting Western methods to the needs of Eastern peoples the West must do its share. Most work of this kind is unprofitable, and, unless the State does it, will remain undone. That is why many will regard

the machinery which has been devised in the Netherlands Indies for promoting economic uplift, with its combination of scientific research and economic study, as a very notable achievement, and will hope that, when our politicians in this country, Burman and European, are tired of talking and get down to business, they will deal in a businesslike manner with economic construction by establishing a Department of Economic Affairs especially charged with economic uplift. When that happens, both the Minister responsible for the Department and its official Head will probably find that they have much to learn from the example and experience of the Government of the Netherlands Indies.

THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE ISLAND OF SINGAPORE

By G N OWEN

Translated from W G Shellabear's Romanized Version of the
Hikayat Abdullah

INTRODUCTION

ABDULLAH BIN ABDUL KADIR, the author of the *Hikayat Abdullah*, or Memoirs of Abdullah, was a "Munshi," or teacher of languages at Malacca and afterwards at Singapore. He was born at Malacca about A.D. 1800 of mixed Arab, Hindu, and Malay blood. His great-grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Kadir, an Arab of Yemen, had emigrated to the East Coast of India, where he married and settled down. Abdul Kadir had four sons, of whom Mohamed Ibrahim was the eldest. In due course this Mohamed Ibrahim emigrated from India to the Malay Peninsula, where he married and had a son, whom he named Abdul Kadir after the boy's grandfather. This Abdul Kadir married twice—the first wife having been divorced—and the author of the *Hikayat* was the last and only surviving son of this second marriage, four elder brothers having died in childhood. Abdul Kadir was for a time employed by the Dutch harbour authority at Malacca and had a local reputation as a religious scholar and teacher of languages. It is recorded that Abdul Kadir taught the Malay language to Mr Marsden, the well-known Malay grammarian. According to his own account, Abdullah himself was a sickly child and only survived the early fate of his four brothers owing to the devotion and care of his mother, Salamah. Salamah herself was the daughter of a Hindu who had emigrated from Kedah to Malacca, where he turned Mohammedan. Abdullah's father, Abdul Kadir, was, apparently, a man of some literary ability and a recognized expounder of the Islamic faith. He saw to it that the young Abdullah learnt to read and write in the Arabic characters, a somewhat rare accomplishment in those days. As a result of his father's foresight Abdullah was later to find a ready market for his skill as a "Munshi," or teacher of the Malay language and Arabic script (Jawi), in which his memoirs were originally written and transliterated into the Roman character in 1907 by the Rev W G Shellabear. The *Hikayat Abdullah* was composed between 1840 and 1843 and printed and published by the author himself some six years later.

According to the author the task of recording his memoirs was

first suggested to him by an English friend, and, in all probability, the text was used by him in his profession of Malay teacher. Apart from its considerable value to a student of the Malay language, the *Hikayat Abdullah* is of special interest since Abdullah, the last of the native Malay historians with any pretensions to literary ability, was a contemporary and friend of the great Stamford Raffles, founder in A.D. 1819 of Singapore, the great British Eastern port and fortress, guarding the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, the Straits of Malacca, and the sea routes to India, Australia, and the Far East. At that time Singapore was a sparsely populated island, chiefly notorious as the haunt of *Ilanun** pirates, who infested the Straits of Malacca and Southern China Seas, a fact vividly illustrated by Abdullah in his gruesome description of the finding of a number of skulls on the shores of the island—victims of the bloodthirsty villainy of these cruel marauders.

In A.D. 1818 the East India Company, under authority of the British Government, had agreed to hand back the settlement of Malacca to the Dutch, from whom it had been taken by force 23 years previously.

In consequence of this agreement Stamford Raffles had determined to open a new trading station on the island of Singapore, and had come to an arrangement with Sultan Mahmoud of Johore, to whom the island nominally belonged, and by whom it was finally ceded in 1824.

Shortly before the actual transfer of Malacca to the Dutch, Colonel Farquhar, Engineer-in-Charge of Malacca, was ordered by Raffles to proceed to Singapore Island and establish a settlement there.

The following account of Colonel Farquhar's adventures in carrying out these orders is one of the twenty-eight stories which comprise the *Hikayat Abdullah*, and describes the first British occupation of Singapore by Colonel Farquhar and his Malacca Malays, one of whom was evidently Abdullah himself.

SINGAPORE

I will now return to my account of Colonel Farquhar's voyage to Singapore from Malacca. He ordered the ship to proceed to Singapore because, for some time past, he had been on friendly terms with Tengku Long, a son of Sultan Mahmoud of Johore, when the Tengku was living at Malacca.

It was rumoured that Tengku Long had received a certain sum of money from Colonel Farquhar, and there is no doubt that at that time the Tengku had promised to hand the island over

* The *Ilanuns* are a large tribe of Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. They also inhabit the north-west coast of Borneo.

to the English. Moreover, Colonel Farquhar had been to Riau to see Tengku Long and come to terms with him. When the matter had been settled with the Tengku, Colonel Farquhar returned to Malacca to hand over that settlement to the Dutch, an account of which I have given elsewhere in my Memoirs.

Now a report of all these discussions and agreements with Tengku Long had been sent to Mr Raffles, who was then at Penang, and transmitted by him to the Governor-General in India.

In due course a reply came from India to the following effect: "If you wish to establish a settlement at Singapore the Company will not raise any objection, provided the Company is not put to any expense other than the personal expenses of yourself and Colonel Farquhar, but, if the venture is successful, the Company will consider further what is to be done." Subsequently Mr Raffles accepted the responsibility and informed the Governor-General that he intended to do everything possible to establish a settlement on Singapore Island. With this object in view Mr Raffles came to Malacca, and after consultation with Colonel Farquhar the latter was instructed to proceed to Singapore by sea and to carry out the project in whatever manner he thought fit.

At that time Mr Raffles himself was under orders of the Governor-General to proceed to Aceh in Sumatra (in order to settle a dispute that had arisen between the Rajah of Aceh and Aceh Pidir and Teluk Simawa—a dispute which threatened to end in bloodshed). The disputants had sent a letter to India asking for help to settle the dispute and Mr Raffles, being ordered to effect this, had set out for Aceh, while Colonel Farquhar set out for Singapore, as already stated.

When the ship reached Singapore Colonel Farquhar went ashore in the ship's cutter, accompanied by the Malays whom he had brought with him from Malacca. They landed on the flat strip of land where the Law Courts now (1840) stand. They found the land overgrown with "kemunting" trees and wild shrubs. On the banks of the (Singapore) river were four or five small huts and a few coconut trees. There was also a somewhat larger house in which the Temenggong lived.

Colonel Farquhar walked around making a careful inspection of the spot, and, while he was doing this, some of the Orang Laut inhabitants came to peep at him and then ran off to inform the Temenggong.

Shortly afterwards the Temenggong himself, surrounded by four or five of his armed followers, came to meet Colonel Farquhar. At that time of the day it was extremely hot and Colonel Farquhar had taken shelter under a tree standing in the middle of the strip of land. They greeted one another warmly and the Temenggong then took Colonel Farquhar to his own house.

Arrived there, Colonel Farquhar told the Temenggong the reason of his visit to the island, explaining that he had received instructions from Mr Raffles, who was then at Bangahulu, in Sumatra, to look for a suitable place to establish a station in place of Malacca, which had been handed over to the King of Holland by the King of England. And he added that if the English decided to open a station on the island it would be a very convenient spot for the Malays who wished to trade. Moreover, European traders of all kinds would come to the settlement.

Colonel Farquhar used all his powers of persuasion and advice to secure the goodwill of the Temenggong. To which the Temenggong replied: "Sir, I myself am a wanderer and exile from Riau. You know how it is with Malay Rajas—each one endeavouring to exalt himself above his fellows. That is why I have taken refuge in this out-of-the-way island of the ocean. But the island is mine by inheritance, since, by Malay custom, authority over all these islands and islets is vested in the Temenggong, although the real owner was the late Sultan Mahmoud of Johore. Now he had two sons, Abdul Rahman and Husain, both of them illegitimate. Of these Husain holds the title of Tengku Long. Since the death of the Sultan Mahmoud the authorities of Daik, Riau, and Pahang have been unable to decide who shall be installed as Sultan by the Bendahara, since both the sons claim the title. Now it is the wish of the wife of the late Sultan that Tengku Long shall be installed as Raja, while the chiefs support Tengku Abdul Rahman.

"As a consequence of the dispute, Tengku Abdul Rahman lost his temper and went to Trengganu, leaving Tengku Long at Riau. In the meantime, all the insignia of royalty have been handed over to the Tengku Putera, wife of the deceased Sultan."

When Colonel Farquhar heard this story he smiled and said: "Tengku, all these matters are known to Mr Raffles, and he will settle them in due course." After that Colonel Farquhar quickly changed the conversation, saying: "Tengku, what is the name of that hill over there?" and the Temenggong replied: "For ages the hill has been known as 'The Forbidden Hill'." Colonel Farquhar then enquired why the hill was so named and the Temenggong replied that the original Sultan built a palace on the top of the hill and forbade anyone to go up the hill unless with his express permission or unless specially summoned by him. That is why it is called the "Forbidden Hill." Behind the hill there is a spring, called the "Forbidden Spring," where the wives and concubines of the Sultan used to bathe, and no one was allowed to approach it.

Colonel Farquhar then said to the Tengku: "I have come here, after consultation with Mr Raffles and with the approval

and authority of Tengku Long, son of the late Sultan Mahmoud of Riau and Lingga, to take over the island of Singapore with a view to establishing a trading-station for the East India Company and to add lustre to the name of former Sultans, and to obtain the signatures of Tengku Long and yourself to a treaty of cession. Until the arrival of Mr Raffles we will take counsel together to decide how much Tengku Long and yourself ought to receive and to come to an arrangement between the two parties—Tengku Long and yourself of the one part, and the East India Company of the other part. Now, what is your opinion?"

When the Temenggong heard these words he was silent awhile, and then he replied "Sir, I myself owe allegiance to Tengku Long, and if this arrangement has his approval, I also am agreeable."

Colonel Farquhar replied "So long as you are agreeable, all is well, and we had better draw up a written agreement." The Tengku protested that a written agreement was unnecessary as his verbal acquiescence was sufficient, but Colonel Farquhar insisted that it was the custom of the English to put these matters on paper to obviate any future misunderstanding or alteration of the agreement.

Colonel Farquhar then told Encheh Siang to draw up an agreement in accordance with the Temenggong's promise.

In a short time an agreement was drawn up to the effect that the Temenggong gave assurances of his friendly feelings towards the English company and its authority and agreed to cede the island of Singapore to Mr Raffles and Colonel Farquhar for the purpose of establishing a settlement there, provided that Tengku Long was also agreeable. When the agreement was drawn up both of them signed it. Colonel Farquhar then shook hands with the Temenggong, saying "From this day we remain friends always."

Colonel Farquhar then told the Temenggong that he wanted to bring his tents ashore from the ship, and asked him the best place to pitch them, to which he replied "Wherever you like!" So Colonel Farquhar said that he thought they had better be put up on the level ground. Shortly afterwards boats arrived from the ship with men and the tents with all their gear. Some of the men were set to clear the scrub and others to erect the tents, and, in about two hours, the tents had been put up.

Colonel Farquhar then ordered a well to be dug under a "kelat" tree, and the water from this well was drunk by all of them. At the time there were some thirty men of Malacca, who took turns at night mounting guard. Colonel Farquhar ordered a 36-ft pole to be erected on the shore and the English flag was hoisted on it. At that time there was a shortage of food and so

Colonel Farquhar gave the men £20 and told them to buy what food they could, but, search where they may, they could find nothing except what was supplied from the ship. Although there was money to buy, nothing was obtainable. There were two or three small huts close to the Temenggong's house, but the people all subsisted, like castaways, on tree-shoots, dried fish, and pearl sago, with, occasionally, a little rice. On the outskirts of Gelam village there were a few huts occupied by "Orang Laut," people of the Gelam tribe, after whom the village was named. These people were occupied making "kajangs" * and sails.

At that time the seas around Singapore were not only feared by human beings, but even spirits and devils feared to approach them because this area was the dormitory of the pirates. Whenever they pillaged a ship, ketch, or small boat, they brought the spoil to Singapore and there divided it, murdering their captives, and even one another, for possession of the plunder. These Orang Laut (sea gypsies) live all their lives in boats, and when they see strangers in the vicinity they get away if they can, and, if they cannot get away, they dive into the sea like fish and disappear under water for about half an hour before reappearing on the surface some 300 or 400 yards away from the spot where they dived into the water—both men and women, not to mention the children, who, if they see anyone, scream as if they are about to be murdered or as if they had come face to face with a tiger! They supply the Temenggong with fish. At that time the only means of catching fish was by spearing them. Most of the fish they speared was "tenggiri," although occasionally they got other kinds, such as the "parang-parang."

In those days Singapore fish was as hard and tough as a buffalo hide because people had not yet become accustomed to eating fresh fish. The fish were so tame that even large ones could be caught close in to the shore, while shellfish were piled up on the shore so that "gallons" of them could be collected in a short time.

The Temenggong ordered the Orang Laut to bring in their fish for sale, and, although they did come, they were terrified of the tents and people's clothing, etc. Whatever they were offered, in the shape of tobacco or rice, for their fish, they accepted and departed.

When these people came Colonel Farquhar gave them money, rice, and cloth, because he saw they had no clothing and in order to tame them. In that way in a few days they lost their shyness and rubbed shoulders with the newcomers. Only the children remained extremely wild, even becoming ill with fright when they saw anyone approaching them! One child was drowned in the sea opposite Teluk Ayer. He became terrified

* Kajangs=awnings made of palm leaves

when some people passed near his boat and dived into the sea at high tide when the current was running fast. They waited for him to rise above the surface, but he disappeared beneath the waves and was swept out to sea.

Colonel Farquhar occupied himself every morning walking around the settlement inspecting the spot. All the paths were overgrown, only the centre of the clearing was free of large jungle or undergrowth. On the shore side the ground was covered with "ambong" shrubs and dead wood. Hardly sixty feet in width of solid earth could be found, everywhere else being covered with crab-casts. Only on the hills was there any firm soil. At the mouth of the Singapore river one large hill stood up. Quantities of huge rocks were lying around the mouth of the Singapore river, with just room for the stream, which twisted about, resembling a stricken snake, to pass through them to the sea. Among all these rocks there was one with a sharp point resembling the snout of a "todak" fish and called by the Orang Laut the Todak-head Rock. The people believe that the rock is haunted by demons. They are afraid of the spot, hanging up banners and treating it with reverence. They explained that if they did not treat the spot with respect they would suffer disaster at sea. Every day they brought offerings and set them on the stone. Rolling about on every shore were hundreds of human skulls, some old, some recent, some with the hair still adhering, some with filed teeth, some not—all kinds! When the Orang Laut were asked to whom all these skulls belonged, they said that they were the heads of people murdered on the spot by pirates. Whenever a piracy on a ship or boat was committed, the pirates came to this spot to share out the spoil. Some of the skulls were those of their companions who had been murdered and robbed of their share of the spoil, others were the heads of prisoners taken by the pirates. On these shores each man tested the keenness of his weapon on the head of his captive! Here also the pirates indulged in gambling and cock-fighting.

When this was reported to Colonel Farquhar he went to see the skulls and ordered them to be collected in sacks and thrown into the sea.

One day Colonel Farquhar wished to climb "The Forbidden Hill," but the Temenggong's followers were afraid to go up it because they said that the hill was full of ghosts. They said that the sound of hundreds of people, and sometimes of gongs and shouting, could be heard almost every day. But Colonel Farquhar only laughed at these stories, saying that he would like to see these ghosts. He ordered the Malacca men to drag a cannon to the top of the hill.

Many of the men were afraid to do this, but as they could not

avoid it they *had* to pull the cannon up. But these men were all of Malacca, since none of the others dared to approach the spot. There was very little jungle on the hill itself—just a few clumps of large trees here and there.

When the top was reached, Colonel Farquhar ordered the cannon to be loaded and he himself fired twelve rounds one after the other in all directions around the top of the hill. Then he ordered a pole to be erected and hoisted the English flag on it. He also ordered the undergrowth to be cleared away and a path to be made to enable people to go up and down the hill. Every day was occupied with the work of clearing the jungle and making the path. On the island at that time no wild or domesticated animals were to be seen with the exception of rats, of which there were thousands in the ground, some of them almost as big as cats. If one went out for a walk at night they would attack you, and so big were these rats that they caused a number of people to fall down. A cat was kept in the house where I was living, and, on one occasion during the night, we heard the cat mewing loudly. One of my companions went out with a torch to see what was the matter, and he saw the cat surrounded by six or seven rats, which were biting it! Some of the rats were biting the cat's ears and some its legs, so that the cat was unable to move and could only mew. When my friend saw what was happening he called out to me and I ran out to the back to look. Several of the others joined us, and eventually there were six or seven of us standing around quite close to the cat. Even then the rats did not let go of the cat. When the cat saw a number of people standing around it increased its mewing as if asking for help! The men fetched sticks and struck at the rats, killing two that were biting the cat's ears. It was only when the cat had its ears free that it sprang at one of the rats and killed it. Another of the rats was killed and the rest ran away. But the cat's face was covered with bites and bleeding profusely.

Every house was overrun by rats to an almost intolerable extent. It was the same in Colonel Farquhar's tent. Eventually Colonel Farquhar issued a notice to the effect that he would pay one cent for every rat killed. When the men heard of this they started to make every kind of contrivance with which to kill the rats. Some put down poison and others used bamboo covered with bird-lime. Some hunted the rats in their holes and others speared them. Every morning the men assembled around Colonel Farquhar's tent, bringing in the dead rats, some with fifty or sixty, and some with only six or seven. At the beginning some thousands of rats were brought in and the carcasses piled up in a heap. Colonel Farquhar paid out the rewards as he had promised.

This went on for six or seven days, but as it was obvious that there were still great numbers of rats Colonel Farquhar offered to increase the reward to five cents per head, and as a result thousands more were brought in. A deep hole was ordered to be dug in which all the carcasses were buried. In this way there was some abatement of the rat plague and only ten or twenty rats were being brought in a day, and, finally, the rat menace came to an end.

Shortly after this, large numbers of centipedes made their appearance and everywhere people were being stung by them. If one sat down for a moment in any house several centipedes fell from the roof.

Awaking in the morning one was sure to find several large centipedes under the sleeping mat, and the people got very disturbed about it. When this news reached Colonel Farquhar he ordered that anyone bringing in a centipede was to be paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. When this became known the people set about hunting the centipedes and hundreds were brought in every day, caught in every conceivable fashion. In this way the scourge was abated, until only twenty or thirty were brought in. And so the campaign against the centipedes ended and the people ceased wailing of pain caused by centipede stings!

ANCIENT CHINESE ASTRONOMY*

BY HERBERT CHATLEY, D SC

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IN prehistoric times in China it is probable that during the food-collecting or hunting state the approximate equivalence of twelve moons to the seasonal year was noted. This fact is the basis of the duodecimal system of reckoning, but certainly came later than the finger or decimal system for counting days. Three star groups, corresponding to the Chaldeo-Greek Scorpio, Orion, and Great Bear, seem to have been noticed quite early in China. In the third millennium B C Scorpio (known as Huo, "Fire," or Fang Hsin or the "Dragon," Lung) is said to have been regarded as heralding the spring, and it is a fact that it then appeared in the west after dusk at the end of March and remained conspicuous throughout the night. Orion and Pleiades (Ts'an Mao) similarly marked the autumn in late September. It seems also to have been noticed that the full moon occurred near these star groups at these times of the year. They are now both two months later in their appearance owing to the precession of the equinoxes which proceeds at the rate of one degree in 72 years, or a complete revolution in about 26,000 years. The Great Bear (Pei Tou) seems also to have been noticed in early times as an indicator of the north, and also, by its annual change of position in the evening, combined with the other two star groups, served to distinguish the seasons. It may also have been used to some extent to mark the progress of time during the night.

The counting of days by tens (hsun) probably goes back to this period. Some Chinese scholars hold that there was also a seven-day count, with twenty-eight to the month, but this is very dubious.

Schlegel, by a special interpretation of the alleged Hsia records referred to later, believed that the majority of the Chinese star groups dated from about 15,400 B C, but de Saussure has shown the fallacy of his reasoning, which overlooks the use of the full moon as an indicator of the seasons, and this notion is quite incompatible with the general rate of progress of culture.

SEMI-MYTHICAL PERIOD

According to old tradition, Chinese astronomy took its rise with the Yellow Emperor and his second successor Chuan Hsu about

* Based on a lecture delivered before the China Society on October 7, 1937. Professor W. Perceval Yetts presided.

2700 to 2500 B C These traditions only appear a few centuries B C, and the only fact which in any way supports them is the apparent agreement of the Chinese star system with a date of about 2400 B C, as indicated by the tropical points

The fundamental bases of this tradition are the much debated Canons of Yao and Shun, reputedly dating from about 2200 B C, and certain internal evidence derived from late Chou and early Han astronomy (600 to 100 B C)

The Canon of Yao occurs in the beginning of the Book of History, confessedly compiled by Confucius in about 500 B C, lost in 212 B C, and restored from memory and certain disputable texts in early Han times In spite of the fact that the Chinese language and writing must have undergone immense changes during the 1,600 years interim down to Confucius and the hazards of the next 400 years, this text is held by many to contain a real tradition It asserts that four named stars (Niao, Huo, Hsu, and Mao) mark the four tropic times, that the year is 366 days, and that an intercalary moon is required to fix the seasons In the supplementary Canon of Shun, which follows that of Yao, considered by some to be part of the same document, an instrument (Hsuan Chi Yu Heng) is mentioned for regulating the "Seven directors," and a fourfold inspection was made by the Emperor in the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh moons of the year, apparently to correspond with the four tropical times From this last consideration it is deduced that the first moon commenced about midway between the winter solstice and spring equinox, so that the four tropical points were the middles of the four seasonal quarters of the year and not, as with the Greeks and ourselves, their beginnings

The four stars were identified in Han times with four of the twenty-eight star groups which marked the equatorial belt of sky (60 degrees wide) within which the sun and planets travel They appear to be respectively Alpha Hydræ, Alpha or Beta Scorpionis, Beta Aquarii, and Eta Tauri (Pleiades) If these identifications are correct—and they certainly go back in China to a time before the precession of the equinoxes was understood there—it is a fact that at the spring equinox, summer solstice, autumnal equinox, and winter solstice respectively they culminated (*ie*, rose to their highest in the south) at 6 p m in 2200 B C, but the difficulty to be overcome is that they could not be seen at that hour except at the winter solstice, and even then at a time after dusk which would have to have been determined by a clepsydra Schlegel boldly assumed the text to be interpreted as referring to a heliacal rising (*ie*, at dawn) at the spring equinox, a noon culmination (invisible) with the summer solstice, a heliacal setting (*ie*, at dusk) in the autumn equinox, and a midnight culmination at the winter solstice, so arriving at his extraordinarily early date Incidentally this still

implies the use of a time-measuring instrument. Leopold de Saussure pointed out that by observing the position of full moon and by meridian transits (*i.e.*, crossings of the north-south line) of these stars combined with some of the never setting circumpolar stars, the theoretical culminations at mean sunset (*i.e.*, 6 p.m. mean time) could be simply computed. He buttresses his argument by showing that the whole of Chinese uranography and chronometry, including the movements of the pole, is tied up to this system.

An alternative is the fact that the four stars did culminate approximately *at dusk* on the four tropical dates in 1100 B.C., and the system may have started then (about the beginning of the Chou dynasty) and been transferred by later students to remote antiquity. The objection to this argument is the mere approximation of the culminations.

De Saussure originally indicated a Babylonian source for this system, but later inclined to a Persian one. There is a chronological difficulty in regard to the latter. The Avesta (as developed in the Bundahesh) cannot well be attributed to earlier times than those of Zoroaster, who seems to have lived in the days of Hystaspes, corresponding to the later Chou dynasty. It is true that the Bundahesh refers to four analogous stars in connection with the seasons.

On de Saussure's theory the twenty-eight constellations must also go back to pre-Hsia times and precede or parallel the twenty-eight Indian nakshatra which resemble the twenty-eight Chinese Hsu, but differ in some respects. The conventional beginning of the series is Chiao, the "Horn," corresponding to Spica (Alpha Virginis), which is very close to the ecliptic and almost coincided with the autumnal equinox in the third century A.D., but the astronomical beginning was in Tou (the Southern Bushel, a group of stars in Sagittarius which resembles the Great Bear on a small scale, Mu, Lambda, Phi, Sigma, Tau, and Zeta Sagittarii) in Han times. The westernmost of the stars of Tou is now just above the winter solstice. The archaic beginning is in Hsu (Alpha Equulei and Beta Aquarii).

SHANG YIN DYNASTY

The Book of History mentions a reported eclipse in the time of Chung K'ang, but it cannot be identified and may not even be an eclipse. The actual Shang relics in the inscribed oracle bones show that lunar dates and the cycle of sixty days were in regular use. The ten "stems" are numerators of the days and the twelve "branches" were probably at first numerators of the months. Doubtless further information will come from this source.

CHOU DYNASTY

Prior to the eighth century B C, Chinese history is still rather vague. There are sundry documents reputedly dating to the beginning of the dynasty, but how far they have been reshaped is uncertain. The Book of Changes implies an eightfold division of the seasonal year, and this appears later in the Lunar Rules of the Book of Rites, a Han compilation from late Chou data. In the Chou Pei (also Han) the Duke of Chou is reputed to have used the 3-4-5 right-angled triangle, and in the Chou Li (late Chou period) the use of the gnomon for sundials and determination of latitude and of the clepsydra for time is indicated as ancient. Very probably these traditions are sound. In the Ch'un Ch'iu period (eighth to sixth century B C) eclipses are first recorded exactly and most have been confirmed. Intercalation of the moon to keep the lunar year in seasonal position began to be correctly done, and an astronomical reckoning of the year from the winter solstice was applied to the civil lunar year. This astronomical year was divided into twelve equal parts and then again into halves, making twenty-four fifteen- or sixteen-day periods with climatic or astronomical names. These periods have nothing to do with the moon.

In the Chan Kuo or Warring kingdoms period—500 to 250 B C—detailed star catalogues were made and rough planetary observations compiled by Shih Shen and Kan Teh, of which fragments remain in certain later books. The five-element theory in relation to the planets was invented or developed by Tsou Yen. A twelve-year count based on the revolutions of Jupiter was used, and calendar systems, known as Chuan Hsu, Yin, and Hsia were studied and compared.

CH'IN DYNASTY (255 TO 206 B C)

The First Emperor ordered a return to the Hsia calendar (first moon of the civil year commences near February 4 when the sun is forty-five degrees past the winter solstice), which had apparently been used in the Ch'in kingdom.

HAN DYNASTY (206 B C TO A D 229)

This period is that of the greatest development. Efforts were made to collect and collate the old records and systematize the results. Szu-ma Ch'ien, continuing the work of his father Szu-ma Tan, wrote a general history and embodied in it a study of the calendar, chronology, astronomy, and astrology. Lo Hsia Hung and Liu Hsin developed the "San T'ung" system with an era at the reputed new moon and winter solstice concurrence on

December 25, 105 B.C. The year, which in late Chou times was thought to be 365 days and a quarter, was changed to 365 and $\frac{385}{1539}$ days, the moon was reckoned as 29 and $\frac{43}{81}$ days, there was a lunar cycle of 19 years, a "T'ung" of 1,539 years, containing an exactly whole number of days, and a Yuan or round of 4,617 years, containing an exact number of 60-day cycles. The planetary synodical times were found or learned with considerable exactness, and by least common multiple a grand period of 23,639,040 years was computed.

In A.D. 4 the sixty-year cycle appears to have been introduced, but there is still some obscurity on this point.

Li Fan next developed the Szu Fen system, returning to the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, a moon of 29 and $\frac{499}{940}$ days, a lunar cycle (Pu) of 76 years, a Chi of 1,520 years, containing an exact number of 60-day cycles, and a round (Yuan) of 4,560 years, containing an exact number of 60-year cycles. The grand period was reckoned as 2,626,560 years by introducing the planetary periods, but these were later slightly corrected and the grand period became uncertain. [In T'ang times the 4,560-year period was multiplied by seven to include the planetary week which was introduced from India.]

The ecliptic was fixed apparently for the first time, and the fact of the precession of the equinoctial points along it was discovered, but not correctly measured.

The memoirs in the Han Books on the calendar, astronomy and the five elements contain many valuable records.

It is a matter for debate how far occidental knowledge reached China in the Han period. Some ideas, if not figures, certainly filtered through India and Central Asia, and it was during this dynasty that China first made contact with the remoter nations of Asia. The enormous improvement in numerical data, combined with the lack of geometrical knowledge, certainly suggests reception of ideas, if not actual figures.

Apart from the cryptic instrument of Shun and the simple gnomon, we now hear for the first time of instruments. Cheng Hang develops a globe half buried in the ground to simulate the celestial sphere, and seems to have had some form of sight bar. The Chou Pei describes the use of the pierced gnomon and horizontal dial plate, while at the same time making very gross geometrical errors. The cascade clepsydra may belong to this time.

The Chou Pei is considered by Maspero as a Han book, although it claims to be Chou and includes some T'ang commentaries. It assumes the so-called Kai T'ien or "Cover" theory of cosmology, which appears to be ancient and somewhat resembles the Babylonian idea of the heavenly firmament. It shows a knowledge of

the arctic zone and the curvature of the earth's surface. A rival theory of a completely spherical heaven appears to have been less popular.

POST-HAN

Instruments continued to develop, and there can be little doubt that further foreign ideas gradually entered. Curiously enough, that very beautiful and useful instrument, the planispheric astrolabe, which was invented in Greek times, flourished exceedingly in the Mediterranean, and is still used in Muslim countries as a night clock, does not seem to have been known to the Chinese. No detailed descriptions have survived, but it seems probable that a universal astrolabe consisting of equatorial and colure circles with a moveable alidade or sight existed in Wei times. The motions of the planets in latitude were studied, but the epicyclic system of Ptolemy never seems to have been understood, and was probably beyond the abilities of the Chinese geometer. Even in recent times the importance of diagonals was unknown to the Chinese land surveyor.

In the great T'ang dynasty Buddhists brought from India Greek ideas and the planetary week. Chronology was revised, but the delusions of the Han astronomers were not discovered. Star catalogues were collated, but little real observation was made except of special phenomena, such as meteors and comets or eclipses. The inequality of the sun's and moon's daily motions and the obliquity of the moon's path to the ecliptic became known in T'ang times. In Sung times fully developed universal spherical armillary astrolabes were in use, but do not seem to have been very accurate. In the Mongol dynasty Kuo Shou Ch'ing greatly improved the instruments, and two of his large ones are now on the top of Purple Mountain in Nanking at the new observatory. They are still divided in the old degrees, $365\frac{1}{4}$ to the circle.

At the end of the Ming dynasty calendarization was still inaccurate. The Jesuit missionaries revised it at the beginning of the Manchu period and introduced European types of instrument.

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BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN SOUTH CHINA

By R T BARRETT

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GREAT BRITAIN has often been reproached for awakening the East, and particularly the Far East. China and Japan, it is said, had no wish to emerge from isolation, and if only Britain had left them alone and had used her sea power to keep out intruders, these dangerous giants would still be asleep. Their armour-clad warriors would to this day be armed with bows, and the tribulations which have fallen upon two ancient Arcadias would not have been suffered.

Such regrets have no root in human realities. Apart from the share taken by Russia and America in breaking in upon the seclusion of Eastern Asia, it would be ludicrous to suppose that one-quarter of the world's population—an active, enterprising, and highly intellectual quarter—could be permanently shut out from the scientific, commercial, and militaristic civilization that has been encircling the earth and conquering distance.

Britain's Far Eastern policy has always been the bold one. Though we may have blundered into China and Japan much in the same way that we fell upon an elephant's back in India, our policy has, on the whole, been far-sighted and right. We have made a great position for ourselves in the Far East, we have assumed responsibilities, but in view of the rise of Japanese militarism and a national spirit in China, it has to be considered whether our task in that part of the world is finished, and whether we should retreat with as much dignity and little loss as possible. On the other hand it is arguable that our task in the Far East is now only beginning, and that to shirk our part there is neither good for the East nor in accord with the traditions of our race. Britain has never been afraid of Asia. We are not mere conquerors. Our aim has been to make her peoples our colleagues and our friends, and, with that end in view, we are starting in India today a courageous experiment in self-government.

Britain has never aimed at conquest in the Far East. Japan soon showed that she was capable of looking after herself, and Great Britain gave every possible assistance in the triumph of Japanese reconstruction.

China has always exercised a fascination over the minds of Englishmen. They see in her a true survivor, in essentials unchanged, of the age of Egypt and Babylon, an empire full of art and ancient knowledge, aloof and self-sufficient. There has been

a fixed determination in Britain that the tragedies of Mexico and Peru shall not be repeated in China, our ambition has been to assume the rôle of friend and patron of this "lost civilization." There was also the practical consideration of extremely profitable trade. British motives are always mixed, but no great firm, and no dominant personalities in the story of British contact with China have failed to fall under the spell of her culture. The names of Gordon and Sir Robert Hart, the founder of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, spring to mind, but the history of the "great hongcs" shows that China was far more to these traders than a comfortable source of profit.

Over the course of a century Britain has built a complex structure in China, an *imperium in imperio*, let it be admitted, and yet in no way impinging upon Chinese integrity. It came gradually, and was only to a limited extent achieved by war. The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 opened a number of Treaty Ports, but only unsavoury mudflats at Shanghai, at a number of coastal towns, and at Canton, were flung contemptuously to the foreign barbarian. An obscure island was ceded in the south. How could the Chinese court and mandarins foresee that these places would grow into fine towns, to be envied and copied by the Chinese themselves? How could they know that the barren rock called Hongkong would grow into "an isle of gold," one of the largest and most beautiful ports in the world? Chinese co-operation made the miracle possible. Being an intensely practical race the Chinese flocked to the European settlements, where trade was good, wages high for servants and labourers, and security was offered in times of trouble. Britain further strengthened her position by her grip on the Chinese Maritime Customs, organized by Sir Robert Hart and controlled with a magnificent integrity and impartiality. Mining and railway concessions followed. The coasts were opened to British shipping and light draft vessels plied up the Yangtse and West Rivers, eventually penetrating above the Yangtse rapids and starting trade with the great province of Szechuan.

The British position in China depended upon several factors. It could only be maintained by the acquiescence of the Chinese people. Despite garrisons, gunboats, and the China Squadron, if China had decided that our presence was injurious and offensive, that decision would have prevailed, or at least have secured modifications sufficient to satisfy the fixed wishes of the Chinese. Furthermore, Britain's position depended upon the supremacy of British commerce. The system was a free trade one. Tariffs were low and no nationalistic discriminations were made, even at Hongkong. Britain favoured the "Open Door," for in that epoch of free trade our manufacturers ruled the roost. We had

been first in the field, our "great hongcs" had the technique of trading with China at their fingertips, and foreign industrialists had to use them as agents. British sea power, with its base at Hongkong, kept guard over the China Seas.

The first potential challenge to Britain's supremacy was the rise of Japan's naval and military power. This was met for over twenty years by Anglo-Japanese friendship and formal alliance. Our position was, however, weakened by the necessity of withdrawing battleships from the Far East and concentrating our naval strength against Germany in the North Sea. Japan, having dispelled the legend of European invincibility by her defeat of Russia, was left mistress of the Far East.

The Great War lowered European prestige and gave Japan an economic opportunity. While we were making munitions her cheap-grade goods started to flood not only China, but the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and the whole of Asia. Japan could produce at a cost which the Asiatic peasant and coolie could afford to pay.

China's troublous times, following the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1917, after he had held the new Republic together for five years, reduced the purchasing power of China, and seriously damaged British commerce. Such trade as was going went mostly to Japan, though America now became a formidable rival. Her manufacturers studied the requirements of the market, her universities were opened to Chinese students, and the spread of the American films gave a cultural grip on the Chinese mentality.

In 1925 the flame of nationalism was lit and fanned by the Russian Communists employed at Canton by Sun Yat-sen, after his appeal for British aid had been rejected. We had already burnt our fingers by backing "great men" and would-be unifiers, but in Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang Party, the Russian Mission found instruments to their hands. Micael Borodin proved a genius in agitation, and Galen, the military organizer, is now "Marshal Blucher," the "Napoleon" of the Soviet.

Britain was the arch-enemy in those days—the greedy capitalist and the Imperialistic ogre. When the plans for the unification of China had met with full success, her newly acquired might was to be turned against Great Britain and sweep every vestige of her power from the Far East. But Borodin, in his enthusiasm for Communism and Russian political ambition, went too far. China soon saw what the gigantic alliance of China and Russia for world revolution would mean, when it came to practical politics. The Russians were ignominiously expelled, Chinese Communism was proscribed, and relations with Britain returned to normal, following British rendition of the Hankow and smaller Yangtse concessions.

These incidents need recalling, not only to show something of the background of the British position today, but as a reminder that we have in recent years resisted a determined attempt to drive us out of China. They show that Far Eastern political typhoons, though dangerous at the time, blow themselves out. Peace descends, bygones are bygones, as they were after the Opium Wars and the Boxer Rising. British and Chinese have always been able to pick up the old relationship after tempers have cooled.

Owing to her interests in the Far East Great Britain is forced into the position of third party in the conflict between China and Japan, an antagonism as deep-rooted, and almost as old, as the hatred of Teuton and Frank. Unless it is resolved it may prove mutually destructive to both nations, and may involve the world in another war. It is in Britain's hands alone that the hope of effecting a permanent settlement lies. This is not to say that Britain must be the mediator in the present war, but in the post-war period Britain alone can be the architect of a lasting settlement.

It is essential in approaching this problem of Sino-Japanese hostility to understand something of Japanese history, mentality, needs, and ambitions. The struggle between China and Japan goes back to the attempts of Kublai Khan to add the island kingdom to his empire. Twice his armadas were repulsed and finally shattered by typhoons. Those events have bitten as deeply into Japanese mentality as the defeat of the Spanish Armada into British imagination. From these victories the Japanese have imbued a sense of invincibility and divine protection. Later their corsairs were to ravage the coast of China, and the Japanese "Napoleon," the great Hideyoshi, was to embark on a scheme for the conquest of China, of Asia, and of the whole earth. Those dreams are alive today. The old feats of daring and valour are being dug out of history and glorified, as the Elizabethan poets glorified the English victories over France under Plantagenet kings. The people of Japan are on the march, they believe themselves irresistible. China now, then Russia, Britain, and the world will be theirs. This is the modern spirit of Japan, and either this ardour must be abated or a clash with Britain is inevitable. If we retreat from China shall we have to be prepared to fight at Singapore? The question is, where shall we make our next line of defence? The conflict may be economic, but there is little sign that war has become an anachronism.

It is just possible that China's heroic resistance will bring Japan down in ruin, it is not impossible that Japan may offer a generous peace, but the danger of a Japanese triumph has to be faced. What would that imply, and can Britain mitigate the disaster?

Every student of Far Eastern affairs knows that one of the chief issues, full of far-reaching consequences, is the control of Chinese Maritime Customs. For over a year Japan has been seeking to breach the Chinese tariff walls. She did this by setting up a puppet state in East Hopei, on the Gulf of Chihli, and by pouring through that state, by sea and by rail from Manchuria, a mighty stream of smuggled goods. The eventual success of the Chinese Customs officials in stemming that stream is one of the direct causes of the launching of the present attack.

If Japan be left in control of the Chinese Maritime Customs (even supposing the ports south of the Yangtse were exempt) it would give her an intolerable grip on China's throat. Even a moderately successful Japan will demand, in her terms of peace, tariff concessions that will clinch her hold on the Chinese market, but if she gain her complete ends, no doubt an indemnity will be imposed, and will be secured by an unqualified confiscation of the Maritime Customs revenue. The bait to Europe will be a guarantee to pay the interest on the loans secured on these Customs. This would break the Chinese Government. Without the financial resources needed for administration and reconstruction, order could not be maintained from the capital, the old provincial rivalries would be resumed, the country would fall into chaos, and Japan would be given the excuse and the opportunity to repeat, on the greater scale which she has in view, the Manchukuo experiment.

Japanese conquest would mean a worse thing than military domination, cultural slavery, and the end of the hopes engendered by the success of the National Government in reconstruction. Japan knows the immensity of the task of holding down China. She may not wish it, but if she conquers China, China will inevitably fall into degradation. For over a century opium has been the curse of China. It has also been the main source of revenue both to the central and the semi-independent provincial administrations. Civil wars have been fought for the control of the great centres of opium distribution and the money drawn from levies on the drug. Chiang Kai-shek has been the first Chinese ruler in modern times to fight the opium trade with real measure of success. He did it for three reasons. First, when he took Shanghai he had in the Customs, through which half the trade of China passes, an alternative source of revenue. The less opium was planted and smoked, the less money could his rivals in the provinces raise on that source and use for resistance to Nanking. Secondly, Chiang saw that war with Japan was inevitable, and that upon him the responsibility for conducting that war would fall. He knew that an opium-sodden nation would have neither the physical nor the moral

stamina to stand up to Japan, he knew that if he had a bunch of opium addicts round him, half of them would be in Japanese pockets. Thirdly, he is a Christian, with the fanatical hatred of opium shared by missionaries and their genuine converts, because they know that opium saps the moral fibre, and every addict is liable to crack, mentally and physically, under the strain of war. The cynical sneer of Far Eastern "old-timers," "Opium never hurt a Chinaman," is nonsense. It blunts the moral sense, it stimulates mental activity and power of intrigue at the expense of the executive faculties and of the higher qualities by which alone such martyrdom as China must suffer can be endured to the end.

In the past, British hands have been none too clean over this opium business. Will Japan be better? What is her record with regard to the drug trade? The recent report of the League of Nations on the heroin and opium trade in Manchukuo is the answer. If she sets herself up as overlord of China she will need the opium revenues to finance the adventure, she will be faced by Chinese appeals for the cultivation of the drug. China will genuinely need the drug. The sufferers from the lung and bronchial troubles that take toll of millions of lives will be crying out for opium, the one relief that they know. In a China with hopes blighted, with the plans for reconstruction, higher standards of life, and improved health services, placed beyond accomplishment, what will be left but to fall back upon the pipe that never failed to give, not the dreams of fantastic tradition, but the mental quiet and the escape from reality which made life endurable.

No special indictment of Japan is intended. She will be driven by circumstances—of the creation of her heroic soldiers. There will be once more an opium-sodden China, docile under the fumes of opium. The poppy-fields will flourish as when, in 1893, Dr Morrison, author of *An Australian in China*, wrote "From the time I left Hupeh till I reached the boundary of Burmah, a distance of 1,700 miles, I never remember to have been out of sight of the poppy. Edicts are issued against the use of opium by Chinese philanthropists over a quiet pipe of opium, and signed by opium-smoking officials, whose revenues are derived from the poppy."

A pleasant prospect for the world! We know the power of the drug rings at the present time, but with heroin pouring out of China by land, by sea, and by air, what control would be possible, who would be safe?

Is Japan to be trusted with the overlordship of China? Could she maintain her rule, and at the same time allow that great people to take the place in the world which they have the character and the ability to take, after a period of reform and reconstruction, such as Nanking had already inaugurated? Will

China be left to the mercy of Japanese militarism and commercialism? Militarism by its nature kills for patriotic reasons, and with proper professional pride Chinese rebels would have to be killed. Commercialism! We in England have emerged out of the era of Satanic mills, and we have curbed the havoc of the drink trade among primitive peoples. Can the same be said of Japan? Her own factories are no Utopia. What will those manned by Chinese coolies be like?

For Britain these are practical questions. If Japan is able to control the Chinese Customs, to dominate Shanghai and the north, if she is allowed to mask Hongkong by the annexation of Hainan, will she be content? The Imperialist appetite grows with what it feeds upon. The dreams of the Tanaka Memorandum figure more than the overlordship of China. The rice-fields and the mines of Indo-China, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Siam, Malaya, and Australia are marked out for the privilege of Japanese conquest. The argument that China would be a source of weakness and not strength to Japan is as fallacious as it is mean-spirited. To leave China as a sacrifice to Japan, so that Japan will have no strength for further aggression, is not pretty. Japan could probably secure raw materials, revenue, and labour from China. Not much money would be wasted on anything beyond policing the country.

To resist Japan in full flight of victory, and with European Fascist states as her allies, might seem a hopeless task. But let it be repeated, Britain has never been afraid of Asia, and the task is not so formidable as might be supposed. How far is the defence of China by Great Britain a strategic possibility? North of the Yangtse it is not. We have no base, and modern fleets and aircraft are helpless without adequate sources of supply and reconditioning. Nor would the British nation be prepared to fight for the Shanghai International Settlement. Japan's ambition may not stop short of the Yangtse River. She has interests in Fukien, opposite to Formosa, and would like to own Foochow, once the centre of the tea trade. She has designs on Hainan Island, and she naturally covets Hongkong, the key to Canton and the South China railway and river systems.

Is it a physical possibility to prevent Japan's advance into South China, either during the present operations or at some further stage of her policy of expansion and conquest? If it can be resisted Britain should not scuttle from a country where we have great interests, and to whom we owe moral obligations of a kind that cannot be honourably repudiated. To take such a line is to abandon China, and to hope that Japan will wear herself out and go the way of the Manchu and Mongolian conquerors. But modern conquerors have resources of terrorization unknown to

their prototypes of olden time, and their will to overlordship is not less ruthless

What, then, are the chances of resistance? No European Power, or even combination of Powers, can attack Japan from the sea. But to prevent Japan moving south either against Canton, the coast ports, of which Foochow, Amoy, and Swatow are the most important, or against Hainan, is perfectly feasible. The only pre-requisite is that Hongkong should be properly fortified, and this includes adequate defence for the big towns of Victoria and Kowloon against aerial attack on the large scale, which could be launched from Takao, in Formosa, only 400 miles to the north-east of the British colony. At present these towns are not secure. The military defences of Hongkong are strong, but if these congested and exposed towns were obliterated by aerial bombardment, and the million Chinese in them were massacred, British prestige would die with them. Defence is a matter of money, and if Hongkong were made impregnable Japan could move neither against Canton nor Hainan, in face of British opposition. Without command of the sea a military invasion and conquest of South China—mountainous, lacking communications, and of immense area, would be impossible. Even if Japan brought her whole battle fleet of nine dreadnoughts down to Formosa, and operated them from there, Britain could move an equal number of capital ships, with their necessary complement of light craft and fleet auxiliaries, to Hongkong, risking a stiletto blow in the back nearer home. But with the Chinese war on her hands, and with Vladivostock, swarming with war planes, only 450 miles from her own coasts, Japan would never venture her whole navy south against the British fleet. Hainan lies 200 miles south-west of Hongkong, and Takao, in Formosa, is 400 miles north-east of Hongkong. If, therefore, Japan is tamely permitted to take Hainan, Hongkong is masked and Japan has an ideal base of operations against South China, and, if need arises, against Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. What is the use of having a British navy, with bases at Hongkong and Singapore, unless we are prepared to use them? There can never be a more righteous and necessary cause than the keeping of Japan out of South China.

If South China is saved the whole of China will eventually save herself. With Britain secure at Hongkong the normal process of reconstruction in South China and Szechuan can continue without Japanese interference. Chinese nationalism and will to reconstruction, being concentrated in that area, will present a more wieldy administrative task than when the whole Republic was governed from Nanking. The Chinese will be imbued with a new spirit of unity and with a desire to purge the country of

its ills and renew its greatness. But without a British Hongkong, China is cut off from Europe, and the spirit of patriotism and progress will inevitably be quenched, and the whole land must, in the course of time, fall under Japanese domination. It is not only that European goods and traders go up-country from Hongkong, but the Chinese come there and see for themselves what Europe is doing and what she is prepared to offer them. They go back to their walled towns and muddy villages intent upon change. They want electricity and sanitation, medical services, and modern transport. But if Hongkong is not there they will never see these things. Nor must it be forgotten that Hongkong is of incalculable value to the missionary schools, where European knowledge is taught, and to the missionary hospitals ministering to the lepers, the consumptives, and the sufferers from the ophthalmic diseases rife in China.

But whatever the upshot of the present struggle may be, the problem of Japan's urge to expansion must be faced. Are there alternative directions open to Japan? Must her ambition take militaristic form? A policy along such lines must involve risk and sacrifice, but the bold course, the policy of Wellington after Waterloo, of Campbell-Bannerman in South Africa, seldom fails. Britain's responsibility towards China cannot be separated from Japan's real needs, which are for markets and for tropical or sub-tropical lands where certain materials that she requires for her industry can be obtained, and where the Japanese manner of life can be reproduced, as British life is reproduced in New Zealand. There are in the Far East great tropical lands, neither self-governing nor densely populated, nor being developed, beyond a scratching for oil and precious metals. Their future status cannot be fixed by the chances of their original occupation, and by the principle never to part with an inch of territory. There is a distinction between colonies that are being worked and those that are lying fallow. Some form of transfer, by purchase, or over a period of time, should be made possible.

Can China be saved and British interests, vital for the welfare of both countries, be preserved by concessions in other directions that would mean no real sacrifice? Spain lost her empire by holding on to more than she could govern and develop, and by refusing to allow other peoples a share even in trade. Tariff walls and political pride are today encompassing Japan, so that the force of her industrial expansion, by which alone she can provide for a population increasing by a net million a year, is directed against China. While she could not hold down China without violence and repression, there has been little complaint from Formosa.

Political fires arise in the East, and often, as in jungle fires,

disaster seems imminent. But the flames die down, little damage is done, and only dry grass is consumed. But unless the root causes of this conflagration are understood and removed, the outbreak will recur. The present struggle may drag on as an indecisive war of attrition, China's gallant resistance may crumble, or Japan may offer terms of unexpected generosity, but whatever happens, Britain should maintain her place in the Far East. The country that awakened the East should remain in the East till the reconstruction of China is accomplished and Japan has passed out of her imperialistic adolescence.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

BY SIR FRANK NOYCE, K C S I, C B E

BEFORE I commence, I should perhaps mention that from April 1 last Burma ceased to be part of the Indian Empire. Separate statistics for Burma are not, however, at present available, at any rate to me, and it is, therefore, impossible to exclude Burma from my purview. There is the less need to do so because, although Burma, when a Province of the Indian Empire, accounted for nearly one-eighth of the area of that Empire—233,500 square miles out of a total of 1,809,000 square miles—it only accounted for a little over 4 per cent of its population—14·5 millions against 353 millions, which, it may be noted in passing, is one-fifth of that of the whole world. Such figures as I shall give are, therefore, only slightly affected by the separation of Burma.

THE AGRICULTURAL BACKGROUND

And now for the background. India is a predominantly agricultural country, the population of which is increasing at a rate which is enough, in itself, to give rise to serious problems in the near future. Between 1921 and 1931 the total population of India increased from 318·9 to 352·8 millions—that is, by 10·6 per cent. It is true that the rate of increase in the urban population was 20 per cent, against 9·6 per cent for the rural, but, as the latter in 1931 numbered 313·8 millions against only 39 millions for the former, the predominance of the rural population was only slightly affected. In the last 50 years, the total population of India has increased by 39 per cent. The Public Health Commissioner for India, Colonel Russell, in his recent annual report estimates that at the next census it will be found to have reached 400 millions. Put it in another way. Between 1921 and 1931, India added to herself the equivalent of the whole population of France or Italy. Of India's 353 millions, 11 per cent only are classed as urban and 89 per cent. as rural. That 89 per cent lives in 700,000 villages, the average population of which is about 450. Over 40 per cent of the rural population lives in villages of under 500 inhabitants and about 45 per cent in villages with populations between 500 and 2,000.

It will be obvious, therefore, that nowhere in the Empire is that

* Based on a paper read before the Conference on Imperial Development on November 23 at the Royal Empire Society.

immense scope for increased demand for food, clothing, houses, and for every sort of manufactured goods, which is stressed in the General Note on the aims and objects of this Conference, as great as it is in India. Even if we were not dealing with such a vast population, that would still be true for, as everyone who knows India is only too painfully aware, nowhere in the Empire is it more desirable that the standards of living should be raised than in India. Let me take the enormous unsatisfied needs in the order in which they are stated in the Note and deal first with food, from every point of view the most important in a country in which so large a proportion of the population is undoubtedly under-nourished, even if it may be somewhat of an exaggeration to state that it does not get one proper meal a day.

Here let me offer a word of warning. I have little confidence in the various estimates which have been framed from time to time of the gross food supply in India as compared with the requirements of the population. In the first place, the statistics of production are far too incomplete and under-estimating of the outturn of crops—owing to the ingrained pessimism of the Indian reporting agency—far too common to admit of any great reliance being placed upon them. In the second place, every serious student of nutrition problems in villages has noticed that there are many useful foodstuffs, especially vegetables, which make little or no appearance in the crop returns but which are none the less of very real importance. Equally with the estimates of gross food supply, it is, in my view, unsafe to trust the attempts which have been made to calculate the equivalent in calories of that supply, and to compare the result with what is required for a healthy population. Not only are many fundamental data on the composition and digestibility of Indian foodstuffs lacking, but we have, as yet, no proper figures of the requirements of an Asiatic population living under tropical conditions. I said “as yet,” for with eminent experts like Dr Aykroyd, the Director of Nutrition Research in India, working in this field, it should not be long before some of the lacunæ in this direction are filled in.

But, whatever the accuracy of the estimates, the fact remains incontrovertible that the yields of Indian agriculture are low, that, consequently, the villages remain poor, and that the diet provided is almost entirely grain, is lacking in variety, and poor in animal products. It has been argued that a dangerous position is arising because, while the population is increasing, the area under food grains is not.

The official figures, as they stand, lend some support to this view. During the period 1908-09 to 1917-18, 0.89 acre per head of population was devoted to food crops, whilst during the period 1928-29 to 1932-33, the acreage had shrunk to 0.79 per

head The population had increased by 28·7 millions, but the area under food crops had only gone up by 2·6 million acres—that is, by 0·09 acre per head The non-food crops, on the other hand, had kept pace with the population, the acreage per head being 0·044 in the earlier and 0·057 in the later of the two periods It would, in my view, be dangerous to draw from these figures the inference which has been drawn from them by some that the villager has less food than he used to have The more correct inference is, I think, that yields have increased It would not be very creditable to the work the Agricultural Departments have done since the beginning of the century if this were not so The main reason for the under-nourishment of so large a proportion of the Indian population is to be found elsewhere It lies in the fact that, even when allowance is made for the foodstuffs which do not appear in the crop returns, so high a proportion of the food crops grown in India consists of grain crops It is the quality, even more than the quantity, of the Indian dietary that is wrong

But it is not the quality of the food crops the Indian peasantry consumes that needs attention Early this year Sir John Russell, the Director of the Rothamsted Experimental Station, and Dr Norman Wright, the Director of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute, Kirkhill, Ayr, both very eminent experts in their particular lines, went out to India to review the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Their most valuable reports, which have recently been published and which I have found of the greatest assistance in preparing this paper, throw much light on this question Sir John Russell's view, which can, I think, be accepted without hesitation, is that in dealing with food crops intended for home consumption, the Indian agriculturist should aim at securing the largest and healthiest crops possible, but need not concern himself with trying to change their composition The amount of alteration possible is too small to justify the expenditure of time and resources that can better be spent in other ways

THE DIETARY

The view that the Indian dietary is deficient in quality more than in quantity has been well illustrated by Dr Aykroyd in two tables he has drawn up showing two dietaries—a common ill-balanced one and a well-balanced diet which should be substituted for it The common ill-balanced diet consists of 20 ounces of cereals per day and only 7½ ounces of pulses, vegetables, fats and oils, and milk Fruit does not appear in it at all In the well-balanced diet, cereals fall to 15 ounces, pulses, vegetables, fats and oils, fruit, and milk account for 25 ounces It is the lack

or insufficiency of the latter elements that accounts for the prevalence of "deficiency diseases" in India—keratomolacia caused by deficiency of vitamin A, stomatitis caused by deficiency of vitamin B, low hæmoglobin content caused by iron deficiency, and so on

It is in respect of milk that the defects of the ill-balanced diet are specially apparent. In Dr Aykroyd's well-balanced diet, the consumption of milk jumps to 8 ounces from the 2 ounces in the ill-balanced one. Dr Wright goes much further than Dr Aykroyd. Working on Dr Aykroyd's material, he urges that the standard Indian requirement should be 15 ounces of milk per day against a standard European requirement of 35 ounces. Even 15 ounces a day is still double the quantity which he estimates as at present available in the country—namely, 7 to 8 ounces per head. He points out that the standard Indian requirement would appear to have been somewhat arbitrarily fixed at a low figure to make it a feasible standard under Indian conditions. If the standard were to be fixed at a level more nearly akin to that aimed at in prosperous European countries, the present output of milk in India would not merely need to be doubled, but would have to be increased threefold or even fourfold.

How are the deficiencies in the Indian dietary to be set right? How is the population—mainly, I need hardly remind you, a vegetarian population—to get the vegetables, fruit, and protective foods, milk, ghee (clarified butter), and fats generally of which it stands in such great need? Here we are at once in real earnest up against the question of improving its purchasing power of which we always—and very rightly—hear so much in this and similar connections and for which it is so difficult to find a satisfactory and feasible solution. But in this matter of purchasing power, as Sir George Schuster pointed out in the deeply interesting Birdwood Lecture he delivered to the Royal Society of Arts the year before last, it is easy to exaggerate the difficulties. "After all," as he went on to say, "what is involved is no more than a process of exchange. Every seller becomes, *ipso facto*, a potential buyer. If A produces more milk and B produces more grain—in the light of what I have said, it would perhaps be more correct to say more vegetables, fruit, and fodder crops—their positions fit in together, for A and his cows can consume more of B's foodstuffs, while B and his family can, in exchange, consume more of A's milk and ghee and butter." What is needed is somehow or other to get the rural masses—and to a lesser degree, of course, the urban masses, out of the rut of their present low standards of living.

Much can be done, as no one has realized more keenly than

the present Viceroy, by education, propaganda, and a reasonable measure of public assistance. But, supposing an effective demand for a change in the Indian dietary—and more especially an effective demand for more milk—were aroused in this way, it may be asked where the land on which to grow the special foodstuffs is to come from.

UNCULTIVATED LAND

I may say at once that I do not think that much assistance can be looked for from those millions of acres shown in the *Agricultural Statistics of India* as "Culturable waste other than fallow." As the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, of which the present Viceroy was chairman, said in their Report of 1928 when pressing for a re-examination of the figures under this head—which, so far as I know has not yet been undertaken—it is certain that much of this area, amounting to 152 million acres—an area which must have been very largely reduced by the separation of Burma—or nearly 23 per cent of the total area of British India could, in no conceivable circumstances, be brought under tillage. If such lands are accessible, they must be of the poorest quality or they would have been brought under cultivation long ago. If they are not accessible, they obviously cannot be cultivated.

If we assume with Dr. Aykroyd that at present the cultivator eats more cereals than he really needs, then some of the land devoted to cereals at present could be diverted to special food products. But even if pressure of population necessitated that all the land devoted to food grains should continue to be so used, there are other ways of dealing, at any rate partially, with the problem. What is needed is a better planning of the cropping of villages. Without very gravely disturbing the general balance of cash and food crops, there is undoubtedly scope for systems of cropping which would gradually improve the nutrition of the cultivator and of his cattle and raise the fertility of the soil. One way in which the present vicious circle might be broken would be to take fuller advantage of the fact that there are now in India at least twenty million acres under improved strains of crops, mostly cash crops such as cotton, sugar cane, and jute, all yielding, even at the most modest estimate, some 10 to 15 per cent more on the average than the varieties they have displaced. Cotton, sugar cane, and jute all present their special problems, of which I shall have more to say later, but a study of those problems shows, I think, the undesirability of increasing the gross production of the cash crops by such a percentage as that I have just mentioned.

That being so, the preferable course would appear to be to set

free a portion of the land now devoted to cash crops and to utilize it for the cultivation of special foodstuffs. If the supply of milk is to be increased, it is essential that there should be a very much larger production of fodder crops, especially leguminous crops, for both working and milch cattle. A beginning has been made with early maize and irrigated berseem (Egyptian clover) in what, after the area under the Lloyd Barrage in Sind, is the most important addition to the area under irrigation in India in recent years—the areas irrigated by tube wells in the United Provinces, for which those Provinces are largely indebted to the genius and enthusiasm of Sir William Stampe. It is only in ways such as this that one can hope to increase the supply of milk and ghee in the villages. Opportunities of doing so to some extent occur where schemes are in operation to remedy that curse of Indian agriculture, the fragmentation of holdings.

FRAGMENTATION OF HOLDINGS

India is essentially a country of small holdings. A special enquiry undertaken in 2,400 villages in the Punjab a few years ago showed that 18 per cent. of the owners' holdings were under one acre, 25 per cent. were between one and three acres, 15 per cent. were between three and five acres, and a further 18 per cent. were between five and ten acres. And these figures would be on the high side for India as a whole, for the number of cultivated acres per cultivator in the Punjab is about nine acres, which is three times as much as it is in the United Provinces, Bengal, or Bihar. Dr Wright comments feelingly on the difficulties this presents to the establishment of a dairy industry. But worse remains. For those holdings, small as they are, are not solid blocks. If a father dies owning three isolated fields of one acre each and leaving three sons, the sons do not take one field each, but one-third of each field. Efforts are being made to secure the realignment of holdings. These have met with some success, notably in the Punjab. Apart from other advantages, they enable untidy corners to be turned into quite useful fodder plots.

It should, I think, be once again emphasized that, whilst there is practically general agreement that the dietary of the greater part of the population in India is unsatisfactory both in quality and quantity, the data at present available are quite insufficient to enable the deficiencies in both respects to be determined with anything like exactitude. It would be a mistake, in this as in so many other respects, to generalize for the whole of India. Nutritional deficiencies have been studied more fully in Madras than elsewhere, but what is true for Madras may be regarded as hold-

ing good for most of the south and east of India, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa, and the Central Provinces. In the Punjab and the United Provinces more wheat and milk—and in the Punjab, with its very large Muslim and Sikh population, more meat—are consumed and the problems are, therefore, rather different. Everywhere, however, more study is required, and it is to be hoped that the recommendation made both by Sir John Russell and the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the India Research Food Association that there should be a nutrition survey in each Province in order to discover the chief deficiencies revealed in the Indian dietary, after which the ways in which they can be put right would be determined by consultation between the agricultural and medical authorities, will be accepted. One important step which has recently been taken has been the appointment of a Nutrition Officer at Delhi to act as a liaison officer between the Nutrition Laboratory at Coonoor in South India and the Agricultural Research Institutes at Delhi and in the Provinces.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

I have so far dealt with the improvement of Indian agriculture mainly from the point of view of nutrition. The scope for improvement generally is, of course, immense. Sir John Russell, dotting the i's and crossing the t's of that very voluminous document, the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, has succinctly summed up the seven great factors capable of improving the yield of crops in India. They are better varieties of crops, better control of pests and diseases, better control of water supply for crops, the prevention of soil erosion, better use of manures and fertilizers, better implements and cultivators, and better systems of cropping, in particular, better rotations and the use of more fodder crops with the object of obtaining more farm-yard manure. Much has been done in all these directions since the Royal Commission on Agriculture reported in 1928 and since the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the most important outcome of its labours, was established in 1929, but very much remains to be done. It is, however, good to find that Sir John Russell and Dr Wright have given the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research their very warm approval, qualified only by recommendations for its expansion in several important directions.

I have endeavoured to show, however sketchily—and I ought, I know, to have said more about the improvement of the cattle of India, which constitute more than one-third the cattle population of the world—the immense scope there is for increased efficiency of production in the broadest sense to India's most

important industry, agriculture. But increased production from the soil of India is not in itself sufficient to secure a happy and contented countryside. An improvement in the standard of living in the purely material sense is only a partial solution of the problem. No efforts to improve agriculture will yield the fullest results unless village life is made more attractive and the villages are made fit to live in. The drift to the towns must be arrested and the most strenuous endeavours must be made to keep on the land or to send back to it some of those thousands of young men who in recent years have swollen the army of educated unemployed to disquieting dimensions and have made the question of middle-class unemployment one of the two questions on the solution of which, it is not exaggerating greatly to say, depends in very large measure the future of India. The other is, of course, the communal question. Various colonization and settlement experiments have been tried in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and elsewhere, but it cannot be said that they have done more than touch the fringe of the problem. Much water has flowed down the rivers of India since I left that country in April last, after 34½ years of service to it, and I doubt whether any year in India has shown greater changes than 1937. But it is heartening to those interested in Indian village welfare—and who that knows India is not?—that the new Provincial Governments, whatever their composition, have without exception placed the improvement of Indian village life in the forefront of their programmes. The world offers no fairer field for the exercise of wisely directed enthusiasm, and it may be doubted whether anything would have a more far-reaching effect in the prosperity of the Empire as a whole than the general raising of the standard of life in the Indian countryside.

I may well be told at this stage that I have dwelt too exclusively on the internal economy of India and on the need for greater production and consumption by the Indian people of their own products. Where, I shall be asked, does the Empire come in? The answer to that question is contained, in the main, in the General Note on the aims and objects of this Conference to which I have already referred. In that Note, it is stated that increased consumption is dependent on increased purchasing power, which again is dependent upon enlarging the real national income of every portion of the Empire. In India, far the most potent way of enlarging the real national income is by improving agriculture, upon which the improvement of that vital national asset, the health and morale of its people, must most largely depend. As Colonel Russell emphasizes, the malnourishment of a very large proportion of the population of India not only affects the mental and physical energy of the individual, but increases the morbidity

and mortality of the many infectious diseases to which the ordinary individual is subjected in that country. That improvement of health and morale is, in its turn, bound to create enormous unsatisfied needs which the rest of the Empire can help to satisfy.

CASH CROPS

Before I pass on to the industrial aspect I should like to say a few words about the cash crops, the exports of which are of such great importance to India. For it is on those exports that India mainly relies to meet not only the cost of her imports but also her home charges, military and civil, payment of pensions, leave salaries, payment of interest on loans, and the like, and, as Sir George Schuster emphasized in his lecture, it is the exported portion of the crop which makes all the difference to the general body of cultivators, while, in those special areas which concentrate on growing crops like cotton, jute, tobacco, oil seeds, and tea, the loss of export markets would, for the time being at any rate, mean the destruction of the bulk of the people's livelihood. They are specially worthy of mention today, as some of them supply noteworthy instances of co-operation between different parts of the Empire which it is the special object of this Conference to assist in fostering.

The most striking instance of that co-operation has been furnished by the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee, established in 1932 as the result of the discussions at the Ottawa Conference of that year on the development of trade between the nations of the British Commonwealth. The Committee has, I may perhaps remind you, two main lines of activity. It has a Commissioner in India who works in close co-operation with the Indian Central Cotton Committee, a most capable and efficient body for whose establishment I am proud to think that, as Secretary of the Indian Cotton Committee of 1917-18, I am in some degree responsible, and also with the Provincial Agricultural Departments, in promoting the production and preparation for the market of more and more of the types of cotton which Lancashire can use. It also conducts a most thorough programme of research and experiment in Lancashire in order to evolve methods for utilizing the shorter staple cotton which Lancashire was formerly unable to use and which will probably always remain a very large part of the Indian crop. The admirable propaganda and active work carried out by the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee has resulted in a very striking increase in the United Kingdom's takings of Indian cotton during recent years. From 230,000 bales in 1932-33 they rose to 639,000 bales in 1936-37, and the possibilities are very far

from being exhausted. The Committee said in 1935—and it is even truer in 1937 than it was then

"It is beyond question that the educational propaganda of the last two years has had a very powerful effect in Lancashire. A definite goodwill towards Indian cotton has been brought into existence throughout the industry, and it is in sharp contrast to the attitude of mind towards Indian growths which has always obtained previously. A great many mills have made adjustments in their processes and even in equipment so as to enable them to use Indian types to advantage. A large number of new market connections have been opened and Indian cotton has been brought into the foreground of the commercial arena in a way which has exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the Committee. All this is of comparatively recent growth and its practical effect should be more far-reaching as time goes on."

The value of the work of the Committee ought—astute, I hope it is—to be specially apparent in India at the present moment, when the conflict in the Far East has, as I gather from recent reports in the Press, resulted in exports of Indian cotton to Japan falling to a lower level than any reached for many years past.

RUBBER AND TEA

My next two instances of co-operation are neither so relevant nor so satisfactory. They are not so relevant because the co-operation here is not exclusively within the Empire but is international. And they are not so satisfactory because a Conference, one of whose objects is to stress increased efficiency of production in its broadest sense, is here confronted with problems arising out of the consequences of the stimulation of that production to a pitch at which consumption is definitely below it. The moral to be drawn—on which it is not necessary for me to enlarge—is the necessity for stimulating consumption not only locally throughout the Empire but throughout the world. The two commodities to which I refer are rubber and tea. India, including Burma, is a party to restriction schemes in regard to both. From the Indian point of view it is, however, satisfactory to find that, in spite of restriction, the export trade in rubber is becoming of increasing importance. The total quantity of rubber exported rose from 16.2 million pounds, valued at £234,000, in 1933-34 to 30.6 million pounds, valued at £665,250, in 1935-36. The corresponding figures for exports to the United Kingdom were 3.3 million pounds, valued at £57,000, and 10.8 million pounds, valued at £238,950. The working of the tea restriction scheme has been different. Exports have been reduced from 10.379 million pounds in 1932-33, the peak year, to 3.02 million pounds last year, but it

should be mentioned that the value of the 269 million pounds imported into the United Kingdom, far the most important of India's customers for tea, in 1935 was £1½ millions more than that of the 312 million pounds imported in 1932, so that the producer has gained by restriction. And the vigorous propaganda carried on in various parts of India by the International Tea Market Expansion Board has undoubtedly been successful in stimulating consumption. The balance retained for consumption in India in 1935-36 was estimated at 83 million pounds against 63 million pounds in 1932-33.

COFFEE AND JUTE

Coffee has recently joined the list of the commodities in India on which a cess is collected under statutory authority and handed over to a Committee to be administered in the interests of the trade and industry concerned. A Coffee Cess Committee has been established in India and a Coffee Market Expansion Board in London. It is, of course, much too early to offer any comment on the results of their efforts.

Jute, second only in importance to cotton in the export trade of India, is another crop which furnishes an example of the two-fold problem of restriction of production and stimulation of consumption. Since 1935 the Government of Bengal have made strenuous efforts to secure the voluntary restriction of the area under jute. Those efforts have met with some degree of success and, in 1935, the official estimate of outturn was 7.2 million bales, against 8.5 million bales in 1934. It had increased to 8.7 million bales in 1936, but that was some two million bales less than the average for the three years 1927-29. Prices reacted to restriction, and the price of raw jute in 1935, on the whole, showed a marked appreciation over that for 1934. On October 1 last, it was some Rs. 6 per bale higher than on October 1 of the two previous years and Rs. 8½ above that on October 1, 1934, but how far that is due to restriction and how far to world factors, it would be rash to say.

But it is all to the good that the Indian jute industry has at last wakened up to the dangers resulting from economic nationalism, the progress made by competing fibres such as sisal and coir, the scientific attempts made to find suitable substitutes, and the changes in methods of transport. With the assistance of Dr S. G. Barker, the industry is now engaged in active examination of the problems of keeping its present markets unimpaired, of recovering lost markets, if at all possible, and of establishing new ones. Again, at long last, a recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has borne fruit and the Government

of India have decided to establish a Central Jute Committee on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee to watch over the interests of all branches of the trade, from the field to the factory. The functions of the Committee, like those of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, will include agricultural, technological, and economic research, the improvement of crop forecasts and statistics, the production, testing, and distribution of improved seed, enquiries and recommendations relating to banking, transport facilities and transport routes, and the improvement of marketing in the interests of the jute industry in India.

Lastly, in this connection, a word should be said about sugar, though it is not an export crop. In 1929-30 nearly one million tons, valued at £12.2 millions, were imported into India. Those imports, thanks to the stimulation of production in India caused by a very high import duty, imposed originally for revenue and maintained for protective purposes, have practically disappeared, as the Finance Member knows to his cost. The progress of the industry has been far too rapid to be entirely healthy, and has brought with it a new set of problems which will shortly come under the purview of the Sugar Committee which it is proposed to establish on somewhat the same lines as the Committees for Cotton and Jute. Sir John Russell has recommended that this Committee should take over the Sugar Research Institute at Cawnpore established two or three years ago by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

THE MARKET FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS

I have commented at some length on the work which is being done on the various crops in India as I thought it would be of interest to know something about the efforts which are being made in India to improve production in various directions and also to stimulate consumption. I now turn—rather late it may be thought—to a question of greater interest perhaps to many present here than those with which I have dealt—the underconsumption in India of manufactured goods from other parts of the Empire, more especially from this country. I do so with great reluctance, for I am painfully aware that I am now entering on very difficult and controversial ground, all the more so because negotiations between His Majesty's Government in this country and his Government in India are still in progress in regard to the continuance in some form or other of the Ottawa Agreement. As I retired from the Government in India in April last, I have had no part in those negotiations. In the little I have to say on this aspect, I hope it will be quite clear that I am merely expressing my own personal views.

I have endeavoured to show how the real national income of India can be enlarged by increased efficiency throughout the countryside. Increased efficiency should bring in its train increased prosperity and increased demand for many things at present outside the villager's ken, better clothing if not more of it—I have often thought that the time has come for economic studies of the real needs of the Indian peasantry in regard to clothing—better housing, better sanitation, more bicycles, more books and newspapers, and the thousand and one luxuries which, as what we like to regard as progress advances, become necessities. A striking example of the way in which demand can spring up has been furnished by the spread of travel by motor bus in India, both among the urban and rural population—a demand which has caused the railway authorities in India considerable searchings of heart.

PURCHASING POWER

In all discussions on Imperial development, one inevitably has to return time and again to the question of increased purchasing power. As to the need for that, there is general agreement. But when we come to the ways in which increased purchasing power is to be secured, then "*quot homines, tot sententiae*." I am not an economist and I can only state the position as it strikes me briefly and crudely. If the United Kingdom expects India to take her manufactured goods, it must contribute in increasing degree to the increase of Indian purchasing power. This applies, though not, of course, to the same extent, to the Dominions. Greater purchases of Indian raw products are only the first step in this direction. Rapid progress in industrialization in India is a fact that has to be faced. The gospel of self-sufficiency is preached in India with as much zeal and as much misdirected enthusiasm as it is in some other countries. Its advocates overlook what I stressed earlier on, the importance of the export market to the cultivator. They overlook the equally important consideration that even if India produced all the manufactured goods she now imports, the amount of additional employment that would be created would be very small compared with the vast population of India.

Take cotton manufactures, for instance, still, in spite of the tremendous fall in recent years, much the most important of India's imports. The best estimates available place the total amount of cotton piece goods available for consumption in India in 1913-14 at 5,280 million yards, of which 3,130 million yards were supplied by imports, 1,080 million yards by Indian mills, and 1,070 million yards by handlooms. In 1935-36, the total available for consumption in India had increased to 6,130 million yards,

of which only 970 million yards were supplied by imports, whereas the amount supplied by handlooms had increased to 1,660 million yards and that supplied by Indian mills had—as Lancashire knows only too well—gone up to 3,500 million yards. But the number of those employed in the cotton mills had only increased by about 200,000.

If India were to manufacture all the cotton goods she now imports, that would only mean an addition to the number of those at present employed in the cotton mills of less than 100,000. If the imports were replaced by handloom products, as both they and mill products may well be to some extent now that half a dozen Provincial Governments are stout protagonists for the use of *Khaddar*, the number would, of course, be much larger, but, even so, it would be a drop in the ocean compared with the millions who are added to India's population every year. There is one point about these figures on which this is perhaps the best place to comment. The average consumption of cloth per head in India in 1913-14 was 16.50 yards. In 1935-36 it was 16.57 yards. It varied, of course, in the interval, the lowest figure reached being 11.81 yards in 1921-22 in the period of very high prices after the War. The highest figure reached was 16.70 yards in 1932-33. I should not like to hazard a guess as to the extent to which it has been desirable that it should be exceeded. We have even less data about India's real needs in regard to clothing than we have about those in regard to diet. As I suggested at an earlier stage, they might well form the subject of some of those economic enquiries which are helping to supply the lacunæ in our information.

INDUSTRIALISATION

To revert to the point I was endeavouring to make. The Indian Fiscal Commission did not attach overwhelming importance to the effect of industries in drawing any surplus population from the land. Their view was, "Even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion." But that is no argument against industrialisation, and there are very strong arguments in its favour—always provided that it can be accomplished without the evils which some industrial centres in India have only too faithfully copied from their Western prototypes. As I see them—I may perhaps be forgiven for repeating what I said in India last year—they are that the diversification consequent on an advance of industrialisation will render the economic life of the country less precarious than if it depends on agriculture alone, that the capital of the country will be made more mobile by opportunities of industrial investment, that a higher standard of life in the

industrial centres will exert some influence in gradually raising the standard of life in the countryside and, lastly, that industrial enterprise will have the effect of quickening initiative and practical intelligence and thereby of contributing certain new and valuable elements to the national character

Argument or no argument, industrialisation in India is proceeding apace and must be recognized as inevitable. The last report of the India Stores Department, the Government of India's purchasing agency, gives a lengthy list of articles to which attention was specially devoted during the year in order to develop their manufacture in India and their utilization in preference to imported articles. Among them were carriage and wagon fittings, wagons, enamelled plates and mouldings, irrigation pumps, hurricane lanterns, electric lamps, police whistles, and silver-grey flannel. Gone are the days, if indeed they ever existed, when it was possible for this country, or any other, to dictate to India what form her industrialization should take. That being so, it follows, I think, that the second step to be taken by this country to improve the purchasing power of India so that that country may take more of her highly specialised manufactured goods is to purchase certain classes of Indian manufactured goods of a less specialised character and to maintain the large free market in this country for those goods. I cannot but think that, unless one takes a very short view, this is a step which it is in the widest interests of British manufacturers and consumers generally to take. There are certain manufactures for which India has special advantages, certain classes of cotton goods, jute goods, carpets, leather, both finished and unfinished, to mention only a few of the more important. Unpleasant as it may be, it would be very unwise to fail to recognize that the centre of gravity of the world's textile industry is moving steadily East, and though this fact may call for more replanning in the British textile industries, it offers some countervailing advantages to manufacturers of machinery, chemical manufacturers, and a large number of other highly specialised industries.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

Time does not permit me to do more than make a passing reference to the dangers of the excessive development of bilateral trade agreements from the point of view of a country such as India, whose position as a negotiating country is weakened by the fact that at present she lives mainly by the export of raw materials and foodstuffs and normally has to export more than she imports. They were discussed at great length last year in the Indian Legislative Assembly and I will not repeat the arguments made by

speakers on the Government benches against those members of the Opposition who held that India should scrap all her existing trade treaties and start with a clean slate. But I should like to recall the wording of the original resolution passed by the Ottawa Conference, which ran as follows: "The nations of the British Commonwealth having entered into certain agreements with one another for the extension of Imperial trade by means of reciprocal preferential tariffs, this Conference takes note of those agreements and records its conviction

"That by the lowering or removal of barriers among themselves provided for in those agreements, the flow of trade between the various countries of the Empire will be facilitated, and that by the consequent increase of purchasing power of their peoples, the trade of the world will also be stimulated and increased

"Further, that this Conference regards the conclusion of these agreements as a step forward which should, in the future, tend to further progress in the same direction and which will utilize protective duties to ensure that the resources and industries of the Empire are developed on sound economic lines "

It follows, therefore, that it was the avowed aim of the Government of the United Kingdom so to develop its policy of Imperial Preference that it would lead to freer trade within the Empire and thus eventually to freer trade within the world in general. That policy in so far—and this is an important qualification—as it was consistent with the protection of British industries has been pursued since Ottawa. This has been possible for the United Kingdom because it was so long a Free Trade country and is still, in essence, a country of low tariffs in which direct taxation is high and indirect taxation, except for a few special articles of great importance, such as tea and tobacco, comparatively low, so that Customs revenue is relatively unimportant. The problem, as we know to our cost, is very different in India. If bilateral agreements are to assist the development of world trade as well as of Empire trade, it seems to follow that tariff preferences should not be sought on imports which are extremely important to non-Empire countries and discrimination against which might lead to trade dislocation and the raising or consolidation of barriers against trade. Trade agreements and tariff preferences by themselves do not ensure increased consumption and, whilst Empire sentiment cannot and should not be ignored, even more importance should, I think, be extended to serious studies of needs of consuming countries and the abilities of producing countries. It is, I am sure, unnecessary to develop this point further for an audience such as this. I would only refer once again, as an example of what I have in mind, to the work of the Indian Central Cotton Committee in co-operation with the Lancashire

Indian Cotton Committee and, more recently, of the Indian Coffee Marketing Expansion Board in London, a branch of the Indian Coffee Cess Committee in India

It is, I think, of great significance that the present Conference should be almost coincident with the appointment of an eminent economist, Professor Gregory, to assist the Government of India in working out the problems which are engaging the attention of this Conference

My subject has been so vast that I have only been able to dwell on a few points and have been compelled to omit many of very great importance. I ought, I know, to have said something about the possibilities of further large irrigation works in India, about the Marketing Surveys which it is hoped will lead to marked improvements in the condition in which some of India's major crops are marketed, about the co-operative movement, once so full of promise, but the fire of which has died down, though the embers are still capable of being fanned into a flame at which the Indian peasantry can warm its hands, if not its whole body, about many other subjects. May I stress once again, in conclusion, that India's contribution to an increase in Empire prosperity can only be secured by concerted, strenuous, and sustained effort to raise the standard of living in the Indian village.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By Y. N. SUKTHANKAR

IN order to appreciate correctly the present position of sugar industry in India, it is necessary to remember that there are four different interests intimately concerned in it—the cultivator, the manufacturer, the trader, and the consumer. Over and above these four interests, there is a fifth one—viz, the State, which has made the present position of the industry possible by its effective policy of protection and which has to see that there is no undue conflict in the aims of the other four interests and that they are properly reconciled. It has to be remembered that the State includes not only the Central Government but also the Provincial Governments, which, as a result of the recent constitutional changes, now enjoy a higher status and a greater measure of independence of the Centre than they did in the past.

Only a few figures are necessary to show the remarkable expansion which has taken place in the sugar industry in India in recent years. One hundred and thirty-seven cane factories worked during 1935-36, the latest year for which statistical and other information is complete. The total production of sugar direct from cane amounted to 912,000 tons during the 1935-36 season, as against 578,115 tons in 1934-35. Thus over one season the increase of production of sugar direct from cane has been approximately 58 per cent. The immediate causes of this large production in 1935-36 were partly technical and partly climatic. The working capacity of many factories has improved, factories were able to obtain full supplies of cane throughout the season owing to a healthy crop and extended cultivation, thirdly, owing to well-distributed winter rains and absence of pests, the factories were able to prolong their crushing season and obtain a higher recovery of sugar. But these are only temporary causes which could operate only in a particularly fortunate season, and the reasons for the remarkable progress achieved by the industry during the last five years or so must be sought for elsewhere. It will be observed that in 1931-32 the number of factories producing sugar direct from cane was only 32. It was early in 1931 that the Tariff Board completed its enquiry into the then existing condition of the sugar industry and recommended it for protection. Government accepted this recommendation and imposed, by the Sugar Industry Protection Act, 1932, a protective duty which now amounts to

Rs. 9/4/- per cwt, being made up of Rs 7/4/- per cwt duty on foreign sugar and Rs 2 per cwt. excise imposed on sugar produced in factories in British India and either issued out of or used within such factories

It is the stimulus given by protection that is the primary cause of expansion of the sugar industry in India. Next is the technical improvement that is taking place steadily in the factories. It is interesting to note that in 1935-36 India imported sugar machinery valued at about Rs 66 lakhs (approximately £495,000). From the United Kingdom alone India imported sugar machinery worth about half a crore of rupees (£375,000). In 1932-33 the total imports of sugar machinery were valued at about Rs 1½ crores, in 1933-34 a little under Rs 3½ crores, and in 1934-35 a little over a crore of rupees, the number of factories in these years were 57, 112, and 130 respectively. From the decline which has taken place in these imports over the last four years it would appear as if the existing factories have either obtained the necessary machinery for their present requirements or are refraining at present from embarking on more capital expenditure. There has been, however, an increase in the value of the imports of sugar machinery in 1936-37 and they have gone up to Rs 95 lakhs, the United Kingdom and Germany supplying machinery worth Rs 68½ lakhs and 12 lakhs respectively, as against Rs 50 lakhs and Rs 11 lakhs in 1935-36.

The number of sugar factories operating in 1936-37 is 146, as against 137 in the previous season. Another indication of the technical improvement is given by the increase in the recovery of sugar from cane. This average is steadily increasing. In 1935-36 the highest recovery for the season was 11.34 per cent, as against 11.10 per cent during the previous season. Even the minimum percentage for 1935-36—viz., 6.59 per cent., is appreciably higher than that for 1934-35, which was 5 per cent. The average all-India figure—i.e., the ratio of total sugar made to total cane crushed, has risen from 8.66 per cent in 1934-35 to 9.29 per cent in 1935-36. This improvement, happily, is not confined to a few selected factories, but is fairly widespread, as an examination of the figures shows. In Bombay the majority of factories worked to a recovery figure of 10 per cent and over, in the United Provinces to 9 per cent and over, and in Bihar and Orissa to 8 per cent. and over.

The third factor responsible for the expansion of sugar industry is the steady increase in the cultivation of improved varieties of sugar-cane. Out of the total area of 4,022,000 acres under sugar-cane, 3,071,000 acres, or 74 per cent, represent the area under improved varieties of cane. As the sugar industry has shown the greatest expansion in the Provinces of the United Provinces and

Bihar, it is also in these two Provinces that the improved varieties of sugar-cane find an increasing use. The research work on problems connected with sugar-cane breeding is proceeding apace in the Imperial Sugar-cane Station at Coimbatore and also at other provincial centres under the auspices of the Provincial Governments. The problem of developing into hybrid cane varieties qualities like "vigour of growth," "earliness," and "good habit" is being successfully studied at Coimbatore. A successful variety has not only to be "early," but must combine with "earliness," "satisfactory tonnage." The question of satisfactory sugar values is therefore stressed in the experimental programme at Coimbatore. Similarly, "late canes" are desirable from the point of view of extending the crushing season and work is proceeding on evolving a "late" variety which will be sufficiently strong to withstand the severe conditions in Northern India without showing any deterioration in quality. At the sugar-cane research station, Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces, apart from experiments conducted to examine the manurial and cultural requirements of cane, entomological studies are being carried out. Detailed studies in the principal sugar-cane insect pests are being conducted with the help of financial grants received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

Having referred to the agricultural and manufacturing aspects of the recent developments in the sugar industry, it is time to take up trade and other aspects. The inevitable result of the expansion of the sugar industry behind tariffs in India was bound to be a decline in the imports of foreign sugar. In the last five years or so the decline has been very severe. In 1931-32 India imported 516,000 tons of foreign sugar, valued at approximately Rs 6 crores. In 1935-36 the imports amounted to 201,000 tons, valued at Rs 1 crore and 91 lakhs, thus having diminished in quantity to less than half and in value less than a third of what they were five years back. In 1936-37 there was a further sharp decline in the imports of foreign sugar, amounting to 23,000 tons valued at Rs. 24 lakhs. The severity of the rate of decline becomes all the more apparent when it is remembered that in 1913-14 India imported 803,000 tons of foreign sugar, valued at a little over Rs 14 crores. It will thus be seen that the locally manufactured sugar is gradually displacing the foreign sugar. The total quantities of sugar available for consumption, after allowing for the exports and re-exports by land and sea, amounted to 1,059,000 tons in 1936-37, as against 1,015,000 tons in 1935-36. The figures for the three previous years have been 926,000 tons in 1932-33, 932,000 tons in 1933-34, and 932,000 tons in 1934-35. Thus the net quantity available for consumption has increased only slightly during the last five years. It is interesting to note that the "initial

stocks"—i.e., the stocks at the beginning of the season—have gone down from 157,862 tons in 1931-32 to 22,373 tons in 1935-36. The "closing stocks"—i.e., stocks at the end of the season—have gone down during this period from 67,878 tons to 40,057 tons in 1935-36. These figures, of course, represent the stocks at the main British ports. The "closing stocks," however, show an appreciable increase when compared with the three previous years, when they amounted to 22,316, 25,350, and 22,373 tons respectively.

It will be seen from the declining imports of foreign sugar that India is on a fair way to being self-sufficient. Actually for the first time in 1935-36 total production of white sugar—i.e., sugar made directly from cane and refined from "gur," together with the sugar manufactured by "khandsari" concerns—exceeded a million tons. At the commencement of the 1936-37 season the stocks of sugar with the factories as well as at the principal ports amounted to 143,684 tons, or roughly 13 per cent. of the previous season's production. The estimated production during 1936-37 season also exceeds a million tons.

It will therefore be appreciated that if "stagnation" is to be avoided in the sugar market, steps must be taken to see that "stocks" do not go on accumulating and are disposed of in a systematic manner. Several suggestions have been made as to how this should be achieved. Reduction in the price of "cane" and reduction in the railway freights so as to bring about a reduction in the price of the finished article with a view to stimulate the demand for it, rationalization of production, organization of internal marketing, and finding export markets for the surplus stock, are some of the suggested remedies.

Last April the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar made certain alterations in the Sugar-cane (Minimum Prices) Rules, so as to adjust the sugar-cane prices to the falling prices of sugar, but beyond such adjustment it is not feasible to expect any absolute reduction in the price of cane which the sugar factories have to pay. It is the avowed policy of the Governments in these two Provinces that the cultivator gets a fair price for the cane. In fact, according to a recently published notification, the Government of the United Provinces have amended the sugar-cane rules again so as to raise the minimum price to 5 annas 3 pies per maund. During the 1936-37 season (November to June) it fluctuated between 3 annas 3 pies per maund and 4 annas 9 pies per maund in the United Provinces and 3 annas and 4 annas 9 pies per maund in Bihar. It has to be remembered that sugar-cane, like cotton and jute, is a "cash crop"—that is to say, its chief attraction to the cultivator is the return it brings in money. Should its remunerativeness be seriously or permanently reduced, the area under sugar-cane is almost certain to be curtailed in course

of time. Moreover, with the improvement in world prices of most agricultural products the cultivator might, even without the discouragement of lower minimum cane prices, turn to other crops like wheat, which are becoming more remunerative. What the sugar factories want is an abundance of cane crop with low prices, and a scarcity resulting from the cultivators taking to some other crop will have exactly the opposite effect.

Some reduction in the railway freights has already been brought about and should to that extent help to ease the marketing difficulties. But it is obvious that any drastic reduction in the railway freights cannot be looked for. There is no reason why one particular industry should receive special treatment from the railway authorities without evoking a demand for similar treatment from other industries.

Rationalization of production and properly organized internal markets perhaps offer the greatest scope for solving the difficulties confronting the sugar industry at the present moment. There is no doubt that in the affluent "get rich quick" days following the grant of protection in the sugar industry factories were put up in a haphazard manner, and it may well be that some of the weaker vessels will have to be eliminated before the production could be rationalized. It will also be agreed that cut-throat competition amongst the sellers, which can only depress the sugar market, is undesirable. There should be some organization capable of holding the sugar stocks for some length of time and releasing them in an orderly manner. The All-India Sugar Syndicate, Ltd., which was formed in July, 1937, holds out, therefore, a promise of great possibilities and its career will be watched with interest. It has been started with a view "to improve the tone of the sugar market by regulated sales," and it has commenced work by taking over from its members their entire unsold stocks of sugar produced in the season. The Syndicate proposed to sell them on a regulated basis and at rates specified by itself. It is stated that the Syndicate was able to enlist the co-operation of about 95 factories, including almost all the important manufacturing interests and representing about 90 per cent. of the total stocks of unsold sugar with manufacturers in the country.

While rationalized production and regulated sales are objectives worth working for, it cannot be doubted that any undue raising of sugar prices will seriously affect consumption. In the case of sugar, as of all other commodities, the Indian market is a "price market," whose requirements are a "good quality" and "reasonable prices," and it sets about equal store by both these requirements, with the balance perhaps tipped in favour of "reasonable prices." It is satisfactory to note that the sugar produced in 1936-37 season is of an improved quality, and high-gradesugar, be-

ing less liable to deterioration in storage, is being taken delivery of more readily. While some Indian sugars compare favourably with the superior Java white sugar, it is felt that there is still room for improvement in the colour of Indian sugar. It should not be difficult to remove these defects with the use of more efficient machinery. It is also desirable that the factories should concentrate on the particular grade in which they have attained excellence rather than disperse their efforts on a variety of grades.

There are two other features of the internal sugar market which are worth noticing. In spite of the increasing production of white sugar, it has not been able to replace the production of "gur." In fact the net production of "gur" has steadily increased from 1,235,000 tons in 1930-31 to 2,258,000 tons in 1935-36. By "net production" is meant the amount of "gur" actually produced and consumed in the form of "gur." On account of its cheapness and its dietary values, it is a popular article of food in villages and with agricultural, labouring, and other poorer classes. Sugar is consumed only in urban centres and by more well-to-do classes, and it is doubtful if it will ever succeed in replacing "gur." Another feature of the Indian sugar market is that there is not the same sort of demand for sugar for confectionery as there is in European countries. There are no articles of Indian confectionery which enjoy the universal popularity that chocolates and toffees do, for instance, in European countries. Indian confectionery, therefore, does not set up a steady and effective demand for sugar. It is, however, to be hoped that progress in the canning industry may set up some kind of demand for sugar.

Any serious rise in the price of sugar is therefore bound to affect adversely its consumption. So far the consumer has not done so badly. In 1935-36 Cawnpore special, a well-known grade of sugar refined from "gur," generally varied between Rs 8/10/- and Rs 9 per maund, the highest price attained being Rs 9/3/- per maund for a month or two. Prices of marhowrah crystal No 1, which is a typical first-grade sugar manufactured by Indian mills, ranged between Rs 8/9/- and Rs 9/4/- per maund, whereas ready Java white sugar in Bombay ranged between Rs 9/14/- per maund and Rs 10 per maund. The prices quoted are of course on a factory basis. The latest available quotations show a further decline in the prices of Indian sugar. Thus on October 29, 1937, the price of marhowrah crystal No 1 was, *ex* factory, Rs 6/14/- per maund, as against Rs. 8/8/- the same day the previous year.

With the decision of the Government of India to ratify the Sugar Agreement and to undertake not to export sugar by sea for a period of five years except to Burma, the question of finding markets overseas for Indian sugar in the immediate future becomes only of academic importance. But actually the gap between

the production costs in India today and those in great exporting countries like Java and Cuba is so wide that India could not possibly be able to put her sugar on the world market at economic prices without some measure of Government assistance or preferential aids from the importing markets. There is no ground for believing that this gap will always remain as wide, but it will take some time before it can be reduced. In the meantime, India's decision to ratify the Sugar Agreement is expected to give stability to the international sugar market. The condition of that market has been far from healthy in recent years, but with assurance of stability and order resulting from the International Agreement to maintain a reasonable balance between the supply and demand it is to be hoped that the world market will improve once again and the producers all the world over will be freed from some of their difficulties, which were mainly due to a lack of certainty regarding the world production and lack of co-ordination among the sugar policies of different countries. The Indian sugar industry can profitably utilize the next five years in setting its house in order. The Tariff Board which has been appointed according to the Government of India Resolution dated March 27, 1937, to examine the measure of protection now enjoyed by the sugar industry and to report whether it is necessary to continue protection to this extent, or to a greater or lesser extent, will no doubt enquire fully into the condition of the industry. It might have something to say about the present difficulties of the sugar industry and how best they could be met. The report might well prove a source of useful information by which the industry could direct its future efforts. Should any improvement take place in the world market at the end of five years as a result of the International Sugar Agreement, the Indian sugar industry should be in readiness to take advantage of it.

AVIATION IN DUTCH AND AUSTRALIAN NEW GUINEA

BY DR W C KLEIN

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THE following is a summary of a more detailed publication that will be published by Mr de Ruyter van Steveninck* and the writer in the course of 1938, in the Dutch language, as a chapter of the economical handbook entitled *New Guinea*, edited by the Moluccan Institute at Amsterdam under the supervision of the writer † As in Dutch New Guinea various exploration campaigns have started on a very large scale and, for example, aerial photography for topographical and geological survey has covered about 40,000 square miles, we may say that in a few respects we are now no longer behind the Australian part, though this portion remains ahead as regards administration, exports, etc By publishing in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* some facts and views about the development work‡ (in this case by means of aviation) on the Dutch side, we also hope to contribute to an exchange of information regarding both New Guineas The interest for this exchange and the belief in its usefulness (the latter also for the Australians, although more advanced in many respects, as stated above, on their half of the island) has to be stimulated on both sides

As to the interest of the Dutch for the progress in Australian New Guinea, the trip which the author made to that country in 1935 on behalf of the New Guinea Committee has brought about good results, which could be obtained all the more easily as the Australian authorities and private persons were very kind and helpful

With regard to the spreading of knowledge about Dutch New

* Captain de Ruyter van Steveninck (the leader of the air-survey of Netherlands New Guinea), who recently returned from New Guinea, was kind enough to look through the manuscript before its dispatch

† Volumes I and II have appeared (publisher De Bussy, Rokin 58, Amsterdam, price of each fr 7.50), and Volume III will soon appear Most of the articles in the book are followed by English summaries and some maps have English legends Every article deals equally with Dutch and Australian New Guinea, and many of the writers have personal knowledge of local conditions Among the economical chapters we may mention agriculture, mining, marine products, trade, shipping, and aviation They are all contained in Volume II, except aviation, which appears in Volume III

‡ Including numerous photographs supplied by the courtesy of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Co (partly aerial photographs taken from 4,000 m = 13,300 feet)

Guinea in Australia the language forms a serious obstacle, as many publications—e g, about expeditions, scientific results, and medical work—are in Dutch. Therefore the New Guinea Committee intends to promote the publication of Dutch opinions and projects and achievements in relation to Dutch New Guinea in the English language.

In co-operation with the writer, Captain de Ruyter van Steveninck describes in the above-mentioned Dutch article the principles and *methods of aerial photography*, emphasizing the usefulness of stereoscopic photographs, coloured filters, panchromatic films, etc., and explaining how, by means of air-triangulation, more accurate maps can be obtained than by simply pasting the photos together to mosaics.

Mr de R. van Steveninck was the leader of the aerial survey of the K N I L M -Company (Royal Netherlands Indies Airways), working under a contract for the Netherland New Guinea Petroleum Co., that obtained a ten-million ha concession for oil. The staff consisted of 32 Europeans and numerous Asiatics. Six of the Europeans were pilots.

The *objects of air-survey*—a term which is used here for explorations from the air in the widest sense—are discussed by the writer in the same article. Up till now surveys, mostly in the form of military and scientific expeditions, have cost in Dutch New Guinea about ten million florins. To bring the results obtained for these ten millions in such a form as is required for economic exploitation and Government penetration, the expenditure of another ten million florins will certainly be necessary (£1 Australian = about seven florins). We are convinced, however, that every few hundreds of thousands of florins spent on air-survey will save as many millions on the future surface expeditions that are still required. Everything is seen from the air, we detect which are the most important areas in the little-known interior, also we discover the best routes to reach them* and those leading from one area to another. One can thus avoid the sometimes not very high but absolutely impassable hummocky limestone† ridges that nearly brought disaster to the recent Hides-O'Malley expedition in the unknown interior of Papua (1935). One can also see pretty well which valleys are wide or dry and easily passable, and where they are V-shaped and full of rapids and waterfalls, or even suddenly disappear owing to absorption of their waters in limestone. If mountains have to be crossed one

* So did, for instance, Dr A. H. Colijn, when ascending Mt Carstensz in the end of 1936, where he had to climb 15,000 feet over a distance of about twenty miles. Air-survey showed him the best route of access.

† The American scientist Archbold, flying over them in Papua near Mt Leonard Murray, called them "haycock-limestones."

sees where the passes are lowest, which remained unknown in the case of the Snow mountains, notwithstanding the numerous expeditions, in grassy or rocky areas one can easily recognize on big-scale photographs the small footpaths of the natives. I saw this myself in Australian New Guinea, moreover, patches of thin jungle in the midst of thick and grassy portions can be located, they facilitate travelling if such air-survey data are known and perused.

Last, but not least, one can observe the places containing population and their cultivated areas, which can eventually be used to replenish the supplies of land-parties. If certain valleys, probably after much flying to and fro over a series of adjoining water-courses, are definitely selected as an expedition-route, a few oblique photos instead of numerous vertical ones, which are more expensive, though preferable, will be of great help to subsequent surface-explorers. If they are well made, the leader probably can mark each evening in his camp his location on such photos and study on them the difficulties for the next day in the way of rapids, waterfalls, steep cliffs, rugged limestones, sharp ridges, etc.

We can subdivide the aerial observations into the following groups and probably all these groups will be tried out on the Dutch side.

1 MINING —If mines are located, the best course of future roads to reach them can be studied. In the exploration phase in the Snow mountain gold concessions, a rough outline of the geology can be obtained, and if big areas are purely sedimentary, this may be definitely determined. For gold-washing purposes the explorers look for valleys with a wide stretch of alluvials and not for V-shaped valleys, this is all easily discernible from the air. Moreover, the best sites for small auxiliary landing-grounds can be selected, especially in grass-covered areas, which are plentiful on the north slope of Mt. Wilhelmina. If there is one means to make land-parties cheaper and more mobile it is the replenishment of their food through the air, that the big Dutch expeditions, especially those north of the Snow mountains, required between two and four hundred persons was mainly owing to the necessity of carrying supplies for many months and making base camps, etc., having regard to the lack of knowledge of the strength of the population to be encountered and the abundance of their food.

Also messages, maps, tools, articles for barter, arms, and police* or soldiers, and also sick people can be conveyed immediately through the air. Preliminary aerodrome construction may not be necessary if a lake can be located in the centre of the unknown.

* Recently a party of the above-mentioned oil company on Bloemen River (south coast) was seriously menaced by six hundred natives. Ten armed constables were sent at once by means of a Sikorsky plane to assist them.

area * Food, messages, and arms can be dropped where landing-grounds are lacking † For a good air-survey it is essential that the persons in the 'plane co-operate well and each have their own place and task and make their own minute diaries (logs), as a rule, the observations are then ten times as valuable as in the case of haphazard flying round by a large number of people The same persons that later on carry out the land-survey have to man the 'plane and only after some four or five flights can the full benefit of useful co-operation be obtained Dr Colijn and Mr Archbold, of the American Museum of Natural History, both adopted this system, the former around Mt Carstensz, in 1936, the latter in West Papua in 1935

In the case of the gold exploration‡ that is just now being started, the above remarks concerning topographical data to be obtained by cursory air-survey will hold good, the oil explorers of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Company follow another air-survey method In their case a systematic map 1:40,000 is photographed from the air at the constant altitude of 14,000 feet The whole area of their licence (which is to be converted later into smaller concessions) is thus mapped on this scale, and out of the photos a rough fragmentary geological 1:40,000 mainly structural map, as well as an accurate topographical map, is obtained The former, of course, has to be completed where soft rocks, due to lack of any clear erosion forms, do not indicate strike or dip of the strata and also in alluvial or landslide areas

2 FORESTS, INCLUDING SAGO AGRICULTURAL AREAS—On the photos obtained in Dutch New Guinea one can distinguish between dry forests and those growing on swampy or often inundated ground, even if the latter is dry at the time of survey The most useful trees—*c*, gum-copal trees and sago-palms—can often be detected It may be that the future experience of air-survey by the forestry officers in Dutch New Guinea§ will lead to far

* Recently the navy pilot Wissel discovered the Wissel lake in the unknown portion of the west part of the Snow mountains It measures 10 miles in length and has an elevation of 6,000 feet A navy Fokker T4 'plane landed on it. South of this lake there are two others, one of which has a length of 5 miles The whole lake area is well populated

† A H Colijn, Director of the Dutch New Guinea Petroleum Co., climbed the summit of the snow-capped Mt. Carstensz (5,040 m = 16,800 feet) in one and a half months This was possible (1) thanks to the use of air-survey to locate the most suitable valley to approach it and during which twenty-five oblique photographs were made, (2) by throwing food down to pre-arranged points by means of the Sikorsky 'plane (type S 38C), which was very generously made available for this purpose by the Dutch New Guinea Petroleum Co

‡ To be carried out in a plot of 6 million hectares (about 25,000 square miles) by a Dutch-British group (Billiton Co, Erdmann and Sielcken, Oroville Gold Dredging Co, Ltd, etc)

§ The first one, Mr Salverda, recently arrived in Manokwari

more observations from the air being possible, as their experiences will probably be enlarged during the first months of flying, studying the photos, and comparing the results of photos afterwards with observations on the ground. Rough boundaries of forest leases to be applied for can be drawn for gum-copal, sago, or mangrove right away on the mosaics of the photos. Captain Kint, of the Topographical Service of the Dutch East Indies, has more experience in unravelling the forestry data on aerial photos than anybody else, and has published his results in various papers (however, only in the Dutch language).

Areas for *agriculture* can also be provisionally located from the air. If one wonders how, it has only to be remembered that—*e g.*, in volcanic areas where the fertility may be supposed to be sufficient—the most suitable areas are those which are not steep, nor dissected by numerous deep valleys, and not full of patches of bare rock, but well covered with soil*. This holds good in many parts of the certainly not unfertile basaltic areas south and south-west of Manokwari and of the andesitic areas along the whole of the north coast west of Manokwari. In plains, as stated above, the dry portions indicated by dryland-forest can be located, and this is important if one realizes how many plains have been described as entirely marshy because the small portions seen from them near rivers or sea or lakes were swampy. Also many a plantation has been laid out where later on inundations occurred and showed that a wrong site had been selected†.

AIR-SURVEY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ADMINISTRATION, MISSIONS, ETC., AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, AERODROMES, ETC

It will be clear from the above that the question, thickly, thinly, or not populated at all, can be solved by air-survey for many unknown portions of both Australian and Dutch New Guinea, and the first of the two countries has shown brilliant examples of actual air-survey by Government and companies that disclosed the populations. The unexpected discoveries that were made are too well known to need repetition in detail for British readers, and their description is, moreover, available in books. I might refer here to the lectures delivered by Leahy Brothers, by Mr Hides, and Mr Taylor, and to the publications by E. W. P. Chinnery, Mr Spinks, etc.

In the territory of New Guinea the gold exploration flights were mostly the first that were undertaken, and the Government

* The search for similar portions of land on the volcanic island of Halmahera east of Celebes was carried out in this way by the Dutch Naval Air Force on behalf of the Handelsvereeniging (Trading Co.) "Amsterdam," a big Dutch agricultural firm.

† This happened with cotton land near Merauke.

was induced to follow quickly on account of attacks made on exploration parties. In that case both peaceful and hostile populations, and even the location of attacked exploration parties of Europeans which had lost contact with their bases, were determined from the air.

At the same time the site of a temporary aerodrome was selected near the base chosen for a temporary or permanent Government post that was to protect the parties. Chinnery's papers describe this method of air reconnaissance to assist gold explorers.*

Future Government posts in the interior, south of Hollandia and south and west of the Meervlakte (Lake Plain and Upper Mamberamo Plain) will, of course, have to be dependent on the amount of population in their hinterland. At present nobody can say whether it is south, south-west, or south-east of Sarmi, Bonggo, Demba, and Hollandia† that the bulk of the inland natives is located, the innermost post there is that of Genjem. If the Government wants to push forward from that point into the interior, it will have to rely on rumours about nearby villages if it does not resort to air-survey, resulting in extensive knowledge of the main centres of population not only nearby, but also much further away, from where no reliable rumours would transpire.

Another example we have on the east coast of the Geelvink Bay small Government posts at Demba and Wainami. If the Government intends to go into the interior, as it certainly has to do soon on account of the oil prospecting that will begin there, it could only guess, on the strength of rumours, whether it has to go east, south-east, or south of these places. If far away, there are plains and lakes with populations on their shores, as hearsay evidence has it, one can only deliberately approach them and select the most convenient way thither if air-survey has preceded.

Expeditions of the last fifteen years discovered a lake with population around it to the east of Demba (the Nisa-lake). Air photographs of it are only now being made, and this lake is still missing on the most recent maps,‡ although Sikorsky 'planes have already landed on it.

* See *Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXXLV, No. 5, November, 1934, E. W. P. Chinnery "The Central Ranges of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mt. Chapman to Mt. Hagen."

† Except the one by Mr. Le Roux in Vol. I of the handbook *New Guinea*.

It is, however, striking that Australian New Guinea with its big number of 'planes has not made use of these for a systematic aerial reconnaissance of the unknown and uncontrolled areas like those south of the Sepik. The Government has refused to grant concessions for oil and gold exploration, and wants to have the area first explored by the Civil Service. The best way to do this would be to start with a systematic air reconnaissance of the whole area.

‡ All these posts are from west to east between Cape d'Urville and Humboldt Bay. See map published in *ASIATIC REVIEW*, July, 1937, p. 3.

Whether there are much bigger lakes more to the south, with, perhaps, populations of many thousands on their beaches, was until recently entirely unknown. However, statements about lakes were recorded by Mr Le Roux when he visited the Upper Rouffaer River north of Mt Carstensz (1926), and by Dr Bijlmer when he investigated the Charles Louis Mountains in 1935. In 1937 Mr Wissel located one of these lakes, which constitutes an excellent base for the first ground expedition. The New Guinea Committee would like to see the latter started in this western part of the main body of the Dutch part of the island, after completion of the suggested air-survey.

There are several cases where military parties, with their heavy, inert trains of carriers, were led through the country by guides, who took great care to avoid touching any village. When I urged the Roman Catholic missionaries during my New Guinea trip in 1935 to explore the country west of the Mappi River and north-east of the Casuarina coast (north of the Digoel mouth), they said that the area was unsafe. On my remark that military parties might go ahead of them they expressed the conviction that these would be led between the villages instead of through them, and they much preferred the aerial survey*. As a matter of fact, this area east of the Casuarina coast is one of the least known parts of south-west Dutch New Guinea. East or south-east of the Casuarina coast (this part of coast is between Yapero and Kawarga) there were many big villages showing a hostile attitude, even the name given to one of them indicates this (*djahat*—hostile), and so the map remained blank, or was—hypothetically—filled in with the marsh signature. The fact that along this Casuarina coast only very few small rivers reach the sea, whereas to the west and east very numerous and big streams are known, is an indication that perhaps higher ground might prevail instead of the hypothetical marsh†.

LANDING AREAS FOR LAND- AND SEAPLANES

These can be more or less selected from the air and all the lakes, for instance, quickly disclosed. As the latter are very useful if seaplanes or amphibians are used, they should be sought for first of all, and they number perhaps more than we imagine.

Le Roux saw two unknown lakes in 1926 near the rapids of the

* Navy 'planes have now made a beginning with it at the request of the Resident at Amboina, Dr Haga.

† Recently the naval flying officer Mr Dusseldorp confirmed this assumption by locating a range of hills.

Mamberamo in one and a quarter hours of flight;* on the first flight around Mount Carstensz at least three lakes were seen east of it, the Australian party that flew over the interior of Papua over the country of the Tarifurore and the Wagafurari tribes located several lakes which the land party had not heard about, and there are many similar examples, like the recent discovery of the Lake Kutubu and the Lake Campbell by Mr Archbold in Papua, west of the Fly River.

AIR TRAFFIC IN NEW GUINEA

Aviation in Australian New Guinea started with freight transport, and not with aerial photographic survey, as on the Dutch side. As here, it started in the Australian part in connection with mining, but there it was gold and here oil. When gold on a commercial scale was discovered and a company took over the holdings from the miners, the question of transport—road of thirty-five miles *versus* air traffic—was solved in favour of the latter. The direct cost of a road was estimated at 1,075,000 dollars and the transport of the projected plant along this road at 125,000 dollars, whilst the equivalent expense for air transport was 750,000 dollars †

I do not know whether the real expenditure on air transport came up to these expectations, at any rate, there is another argument in favour of air transport that seems to me very decisive. It is the fact that profits, which were estimated at twenty millions, are made available by the air transport solution one year earlier, which means a gain in interest (at 5 per cent) of one million dollars. Time is money, and this should also be realized by the Governments, missions, etc., especially those on the Dutch side, when they want to penetrate into the interior. In that event they will be able to either create certain posts when the road construction has reached that point after very many years, or very much earlier when they make a start with air transport, as is done by the Government of the Mandated Territory on a large scale in the Upper Purari-Mount Hagen area, and as will probably be done soon by the Papuan Government in the Tarifurore-Wagafurari area, recently discovered by Hides and O'Malley, the two well-known administration officers of the Papuan Government.

The *history of aviation* in Australian New Guinea was at the beginning also a history of freighting, and it is interesting to read

* Le Roux stated that his flight has increased his geographical knowledge just as much as half a year of patrolling.

† Because the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., is practically American, the estimates concerned were made in dollars.

the story on account of the phenomenal growth of this commercial flying I will not include many figures in this résumé, as my British friends have supplied me very kindly with these data themselves*. Moreover, the British public is familiar with New Guinea aviation† I will, to begin with, quote a few historical data. In 1897 Australian prospectors found gold in German territory in the Waria River, 1908, they still worked there, 1909, the German Governor, Dr Hahl, created the administration post of Morobe (south-east of Salamaua) with the specific purpose of encouraging and supporting gold exploration. He tried, of course, to interest Germans in this work, but followed a very wise course by inviting three Australian prospectors to work in the German area with good prospects of reward, when gold-mining by the Germans would become possible as a consequence of their discoveries.

As a matter of fact, the prospector type was rather rare in German New Guinea at the time, just as it is now in the Dutch East Indies. Two Dutchmen who visited Australian New Guinea, Mr Coenen in 1913 and the writer in 1935, both recommended to us Australian prospectors on our side and, without knowing it at the time, we both recommended a measure which had already been carried out by Dr Hahl.

The subsequent foundation of the Morobe Government post in that area by Dr Hahl did not fail in its purpose, for gold concessions were granted to German groups in 1913 and 1914. Then the war came, during which the explorations came to a standstill.

In 1921 the work was resumed under the Australian Government and the much richer *Koranga* goldfield was discovered, but in 1925 a mining engineer declared the transport difficulties to be insurmountable. The energy of the ex-magisterial officer, C J Levien, and the discovery of the extremely rich goldfield of Ediecreek, were necessary to give an impetus to *dredging-projects*, and the use of *aeroplanes* to transport all the requirements, including the dredges. In 1927 the first machine had already arrived, but the heavy three-engined freight-planes for the dredge transport came only in 1931. The first 'plane, piloted by the famous Mustar, charged a freight rate of 1 to 1½ sh. for the pound over a distance of about fifty miles, and £1 per pound when transporting passengers. These rates have now been reduced to less than 2d per pound for either. Out of this first machine resulted later the

* For instance, Mr Allen, Inspector of Civil Aviation at Salamaua, Guinea Airways, Ltd, and Pacific Aerial Transport, Ltd.

† It is regrettable, however, that none of the numerous capable pilots in New Guinea has ever written a comprehensive technical publication on aviation in an area that arouses such world-wide interest, and that was mostly described by laymen only—for instance by Banks, Taylour, Morley, etc., in papers on mining.

Guinea Airways Co., Ltd., and three other aviation companies sprang up in the course of the next years. For the Government of Dutch New Guinea it may be interesting to consider that the air transport of Government goods and servants (coolies, police, civil servants, etc.) was not paying in the beginning (if only money and not time is considered), but later on became very advantageous. In the annual report of the Treasurer of the Territory of New Guinea for the year 1928-29 it is stated that air transport required an extra expenditure of £7,200, whereas the cost of carrier-transportation through the jungle, which then could not yet be abolished altogether, decreased only with an amount of £6,400. The freight rates for air transport were, of course, too high in the beginning, as they will be in Dutch New Guinea when air traffic starts there. But the wise initiative of the New Guinea Government was rewarded, because in the following years the rates dropped and it became eminently clear that the cost of surface transport was so much higher, that not only the Government soon transported everything by air, but also the missions started to provide their European posts in the interior Mount Hagen-Purani area with the necessary provisions in the same way. It was first the *Lutheran mission at Finschhafen* that ordered a Junkers' plane (F 13, similar to W 34) in 1934, and the wealthier *Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost at Sek (Alexishafen)* followed soon with two Klemm machines in the year 1935. In 1937 they decided to buy an additional third machine, viz., a De Havilland Dragon Fly.

The 'planes flying between the coast at Salamaua and Lae and the Bulolo-gold area (Wau, etc.) rarely leave with passengers only, mostly passengers and goods are mixed, at the expense of the comfort of the former, but the flight takes less than half an hour. In 1932 the passenger and mail service Wau-Port Moresby started. On this line there is practically no freight, allowing the companies to use ordinary passenger 'planes with beautiful seats, upholstery, etc., as we are accustomed to in the Dutch East Indies and Europe.

In January, 1937, there were about forty aeroplanes and fifty-three aerodromes in Australian New Guinea. As the Bulolo Valley has no big water surfaces seaplanes have been out of the question, and their use has not been considered for the small transport along the coast between the ports of Salamaua and Lae. The presence of landplanes only is probably the cause of *Rabaul*, the capital of the mandated territory having no air communication with the gold area as yet, although the traffic between these two centres is very important since about 1930. In the Dutch East Indies the capital of the Moluccas, Ambon, will probably get its air communication with New Guinea not very long after, if not before the establishment of regular air traffic between Rabaul

and the latter island * As yet the extensive aerial survey on the Dutch side has only occasionally allowed Government officers and missionaries to avail themselves of the advantages of air transport As to the Government officers, it is thanks to the stationing of a few seaplanes of the Dutch Navy in the Moluccas that many official trips by civil servants were made by 'plane They used the Dornier Wal, and also, later on, Fokker T4 seaplanes

* It will be known to some readers that the Sydney firm of W R Carpenter and Co, Ltd., has now obtained a concession to establish a regular weekly air service between Sydney—Cooktown—Port Moresby—Salamaua—Rabaul, and will use on this line three De Havilland 86C 'planes carrying fifteen passengers Early in 1938 the service will start with these four-engined 'planes

THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

BY MARCIA DODWELL

HIS HIGHNESS SIR RAMA VARMA, the Maharajah of Travancore, announced on his birthday this year the inauguration of the new University of Travancore. Though not exactly a bolt from the blue, it was received with rejoicing and a certain satisfaction that it should come on the anniversary of the day on which His Highness had opened the State temples to the Harijans. It was also announced that His Highness, H H's mother, the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, and the Dewan, Sir C P Ramaswamy Iyer, had generously founded scholarships and other endowments.

The new University starts its life as something of a rebirth of older, existing institutions. There are a number of colleges in Travancore, and the State is deservedly renowned for its education and the high degree of literacy amongst the population. Hitherto the colleges have been affiliated with the University of Madras, but with the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on April 1, 1937, the connection was severed. Under the new *régime* the Madras Government will be responsible only for colleges in the Presidency. This left Travancore with a number of first-grade* and second-grade colleges, not only in Trivandrum, the capital, but in other parts of the State. Foremost amongst these are H H the Maharajah's Science College (the oldest and original University college), H H the Maharajah's Arts College, and H H the Maharajah's Law College. H H the Maharajah's Women's College, the first of its kind in the State was, until recently, a first-grade college, but in 1936 it was decided that the women students should enter the Arts and Science Colleges for their later years of study and only do their Intermediate B A and B Sc examinations at the Women's College. There is also a Teachers' Training College which offers graduates a course in Education and has its own model school.

Missionary effort has been responsible for the founding of a number of colleges in the State. The Union Christian College, Alwaye, in North Travancore, is a first-grade college, and so is the Roman Catholic St Berchman's College at Changanassery. Such institutions are "fed" by a number of second-grade colleges. These have almost invariably grown out of the best high schools. The pupils, after passing the Secondary School Leaving Certifi-

* A first-grade college is one which prepares students for the degrees of the University, a second-grade college only prepares them for Intermediate Arts and Science examinations.

cate, stay on for two years to work for Intermediate B A. or B.Sc. The Scott Christian College at Nagercoil (founded by the London Missionary Society), the Kottayam College, the College of the Holy Angels' Convent in Trivandrum, and the Women's College in Trivandrum are the largest second-grade colleges in the State. So that, from Alwaye in the far north to Scott College at Nagercoil, in the south of Travancore, there is a chain of colleges which forms a very substantial basis on which to build the new University

About a year ago His Highness appointed Mr C V Chandrasekharan Iyer, a graduate of Oxford, and an officer who has proved his worth as Principal of the Science College and Director of Public Instruction, as special officer to work out plans for the new University. Mr Chandrasekharan spent some time studying the organization of the Osmania University in Hyderabad as one typical of a modern Indian State. He also attended a number of educational conferences in different parts of India. He had also had considerable experience on boards of studies and other councils of Madras University, so he was well prepared for his task. The new scheme is very largely his creation.

The foundation of the University of Travancore will fulfil, in part, a dream that has long been cherished in Kerala*. Kerala feels herself to be, and indeed is, a cultural unit. But she has been divided by political frontiers for hundreds of years. South Kanara and British Malabar now belong to the Madras Presidency and the States of Travancore and Cochin are ruled by their own Maharajahs. Nevertheless, this fundamental unity finds expression sometimes in the suggestion for an All-Kerala University. That this unity is a reality can be seen from the many different All-Kerala cultural institutions that exist. Foremost of these is the All-Kerala Academy of Arts, founded in 1928 with the object of preserving and furthering the culture of Kerala. Whether this dream of an All-Kerala University will ever materialize it is impossible to say. There are first-grade colleges at Ernakulam, Cochin State, at Palghat and Calicut (the Zamorin's College) in British Malabar, and at Mangalore in South Kanara. However, by the foundation of the University of Travancore His Highness has established a self-contained cultural unit in Kerala, and it will be interesting to see how, divorced from the tutelage of Madras, this young University will develop.

H H the Maharajah and the Dewan have, from time to time, made a number of pronouncements with regard to the opening-up of the natural resources of the State, especially the water-power on the Western Ghats. They envisage a time when a number

* Kerala is the name of the old west coast kingdom, extending from South Kanara to Cape Comorin.

of cottage industries may be worked by local power. The Technical Sciences taught in the new University will further these schemes considerably. Great stress is at present being laid on "vocational training," both in the schools and with regard to University work, as a preparation for life. The intention has been very clearly expressed more than once that the education given in Travancore University should enable students to be confident of a means of livelihood later on. There is much dissatisfaction in India today with the usual college course. Bookishness and examination fever tend to crowd out real culture, so that it is no exaggeration to say that some of the finest branches of culture are scarcely able to influence the educational system at all. The strong reaction to this, and it is a reaction which is apparent in Kerala today, finds expression in the demand for increased technical education and the desire for a type of literary education more in touch with all that is best in Indian culture. There is ample scope for this to develop in Kerala.

One can picture these colleges as long, pillared, white buildings with red-tiled roofs, set in a landscape of palm trees and emerald paddy. Wide lagoons, the backwaters of Travancore, with their picturesque boats, their flying-fish, and their wealth of bird life are in the background. In the distance are the blue ranges of the Western Ghats, and here and there a lotus tank. Though none of the buildings are very remarkable architecturally, yet grouped in their own setting of blue sky, green foliage, and red earth, they have a charm quite their own—one which is easily felt by all who visit Kerala. The climate is perennially warm and moist and is able to support the luxuriant vegetation of Travancore's rich coastal plain.

In the many reforms that he has inaugurated, His Highness has ever sought to preserve everything that is useful from the past and to find the right way in which it can persist in the future. He now stands at a parting of the ways. Travancore University can loosen the ties which, in the past, have bound her colleges to the existing system of higher education. What will she create for the future?

This question may come to the fore over the problem of medical education. Hitherto all students from the west coast have had to seek instruction for medical degrees outside Kerala. They complain bitterly of the difficulty in obtaining admission to the Madras and other medical schools. In fact, one student said to me recently, "It's almost impossible for a Travancorean to get admitted to a medical course in Madras unless he has already a first-class degree in pure science."

Trivandrum has a number of good hospitals, including one for women and children. These may form the nucleus of a medical

school The Hindu system of medicine is already established in H H the Maharajah's Ayurvedic College in Trivandrum Whether the two systems of medical science will be able to go on side by side, or whether some attempt will be made to bring them closer together, only the future will show Suffice it to say that just by the founding of a new University at a time of great change, a time when the wisdom and knowledge of the East and West are being increasingly appreciated and understood by one another, His Highness has created the possibility of great reforms and real advances in education If Travancore University can foster, and I believe that it is His Highness's wish that it should do so, if it can foster real culture as against the mere acquisition of knowledge, if it can inculcate the great moral and humanitarian impulses in its students while teaching them Western technology, then indeed Travancore will have given a rich gift to India

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INDIA

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER A BIOGRAPHY By K M Panikkar (*Oxford University Press*) 18s net.

(*Reviewed by the RIGHT HON VISCOUNT SANKEY*)

The Maharaja of Bikaner said in a well-known speech "I have humbly endeavoured in all earnestness to live up to the ancient Hindu ideal of Kingship Etymologically a Raja is only he who pleases his people and keeps them well content, protection is the very kernel of Kingly duties according to the Mahabharata, and of the six citadels of a Kingdom mentioned in our Holy Scriptures, the citadel of 'Ready Service and the Love of the Subjects' is the one most impregnable"

His Highness has the mind of a dreamer joined to the temperament of a soldier But his dreams have come true, and how nobly he has realized his great ambition is admirably told in his biography by Mr Panikkar, who was Secretary to the Indian Princes' Delegation to the Round-Table Conferences, and who, as Secretary of the Chamber of Princes for many years, has had occasion to know the work of the Maharaja intimately

It is a commonplace that no other period of the world has seen such an advance in science, scholarship, philosophy and thought as the last fifty years, and probably in no other country has the contrast between the old and the new been so vivid as it has been in India This period has witnessed the growth of Indian Nationalism, the entry of India into the Councils of the Empire, and the emergence of the plan of Indian Federation In all of these the Maharaja took a leading part.

A Rajput of the Rajputs, he was born in 1880, succeeded in 1887, and was invested with full ruling powers in 1898 Since then in many walks of life he has gone from success to success, and from honour to honour One who knows him best has described him as tall, of striking appearance, in his private life a brilliant polo player, a marvellous shot, a keen pig-sticker, a perfect host, and in his public life passionately devoted to his State and its interests A mere recital of what he has done would occupy too long a space for a short review

When only twenty years of age he proceeded on active service to China in command of the Ganga Risala to take part in the Boxer War He officially attended the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902, of King George V in 1911, and of King George VI in 1937 He fought in Europe in the Great War represented the Ruling Princes of India at the Imperial War Cabinet, and was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and Peace Conference, 1918-1919 He was the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University He attended the Assembly of the League of Nations as leader of the Indian Delegation in 1930, and represented the Ruling Princes of India at the Imperial Conference in the same year He was one of the most distinguished members

of the First and Second Indian Round-Table Conferences. Now he has been celebrating the Golden Jubilee of his reign amidst the applause and congratulations not only of his own people but of all those who have seen or read of his activities.

To write the biography of a ruler who has travelled so far and done so much was a very difficult task, but Mr Panikkar has performed it with great skill and accuracy. He has produced a book of which the Oxford University Press may be proud, for it is one of outstanding importance to students of contemporary Indian and Imperial history.

Mr Panikkar gives an interesting summary of what His Highness has done at the end of twenty-five years of his reign. At page 124 he says in 1912 the Maharaja completed twenty-five years of his reign, in actual fact, he had exercised effective powers for barely thirteen, but those thirteen years had been crowded with activity, and had seen Bikaner transformed into a modern State. When the Maharaja assumed the administration, revenues stood at Rs 20 lakhs, in 1912 it had jumped to Rs 44½ lakhs, the State was served by 87 miles of railway in 1898, and in 1912 it had nearly 400 miles. Coal and other available minerals were being worked, the condition of the ryots had greatly improved, encouragement had been given to *rabi* (spring) cultivation, cotton had been introduced in suitable areas, and steps taken to improve livestock. The State had been provided with a strong executive machinery and an up-to-date judicial organization, and in other fields the achievements were no less striking. The number of schools in the State had steadily increased, education was also provided for girls, and great advances made in regard to hospitals and medical aid.

Even more striking is the record at the end of fifty years, well set out by Mr Panikkar at page 379. It would take too long to refer to it in detail, but the contrast between the beginning of the period and its end he states as follows:

“Naturally for all its fine historical tradition the Bikaner State counted for little in Indian affairs, and was hardly known outside the borders of Rajputana. The position today shows a remarkable transformation. Acknowledged as one of the premier States of Rajputana, the voice of Bikaner counts not only in Indian State affairs, but in the general politics of India and the Empire. The State itself has been changed beyond recognition. A modern administration looks after the welfare and prosperity of the State, nearly 1,000 square miles have been recovered from the grip of the desert and changed into pleasant grounds.”

This last sentence refers to one of the greatest events of the Maharaja's reign, the irrigation scheme of the Gang Canal. The vast and sandy expanse of Bikaner (page 288) in the middle of the Indian desert is perhaps the driest and most arid portion of India. Its average rainfall is 12 inches a year, and in certain areas even less. No river flows through it. For generations the ambition of the Rulers of Bikaner has been to find some source of water supply which would convert this barren desert into smiling fields. The present Maharaja has been able to accomplish this, and Mr Panikkar continues (page 306) “What wonder that the people of Bikaner should show reverence to Maharaja Ganga Singhji, who, from far distances,

brought to his parching and ever-thirsty land water sufficient to irrigate 1,000 square miles, and in his own lifetime witnessed the wonderful transformation of the desert into ploughed fields and smiling gardens" As Burke has said

"These are the monuments of real kings, testators to a posterity which they embraced as their own, who strained to expand the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations the guardians, the protectors, the nourishers of mankind"

The writer of this review may be permitted to pay his own tribute to the great work of the Maharaja at the Round-Table Conferences His look drew audience and attention His first speech at the Conference will not easily be forgotten, for, as Mr Panikkar says, "it was truly epoch-making" At the end of it he quoted the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in"

It is difficult to decide in which of two things he most excelled—the common sense of his own views or his toleration for the views of others Perhaps it is to the latter that most credit must be given, and certainly all he did and all he said was a vital factor in smoothing over difficult situations

Many great cities have honoured the Maharaja and themselves by conferring their Freedom upon him many ancient Universities have done the like and granted him honorary degrees, the British Sovereign has showered upon him the Grand Crosses of different Orders of Knighthood He has solved the difficult problem of building a modern State on ancient foundations, and in return has been blessed both in his private and public life with all the good things that any man can desire For fifty years he has been the guiding star of a brave nation, has set an example for his successor to follow, and created a record which will live long in the grateful recollection of his subjects

HINDU CUSTOMS By Stanley Rice (*Allen and Unwin*) 7s 6d net

(Reviewed by RAM CHANDRA KAK)

It is not easy to review a book of a highly speculative character such as Mr Stanley Rice's *Hindu Customs* Though it contains a chapter on "Some Maratha Customs," the book is really devoted to a discussion of the origins of such important features of Hinduism as caste, untouchability, and veneration of the cow These features, Mr Rice argues, are not really Aryan in character, but were adopted by the Aryans from the people who were already living in India at the time of their immigration It is generally agreed that the Dravidians were living in India and had attained a high degree of civilization when the Aryans came sometime between the third and second millennium B.C., but that there were living, side by side with the Dravidians, tribes of a very primitive culture, whose religious ideas

were confined to totemism of various kinds. Mr Rice thinks it more probable that caste, untouchability, and veneration of the cow, which are characteristic features of the Hindu religion, originated with the aborigines from whom the Dravidians borrowed them, the Aryans subsequently adopting them from the latter. When we remember that the Aryans are assumed to have entered India about 2500 B.C., that the Dravidians who preceded them as immigrants into the country presumably arrived there centuries before, and lastly that there is hardly any evidence, monumental or literary, directly bearing on the question, we can at once realize the speculative character of anything that may be written on the subject. That does not mean, however, that any deductions made from such data as are available, however indirect, are without value. On the contrary, any light thrown on such extremely obscure matters, as are the subject-matter of this book, is valuable, and Mr Rice's insight, sympathy, and breadth of knowledge has given us a book which is a real contribution to an understanding of these important features of Hinduism, whether we agree with his conclusions or not.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda remarks in his preface to the book "The theme of this book is highly controversial. No one can adduce exact proof, for many of our customs have arisen silently and there is no record of their inception or exact growth. Mr Rice cannot, therefore, expect everyone to agree with him or to accept all his conclusions." This is a very fair and accurate enunciation of the position. But it must be admitted that Mr Rice has brought together a mass of material, which, though it may not be considered proof conclusive of the propositions put forward by him, is nevertheless valuable, illustrative guesswork relating to the trends of early Indian thought.

While the main theme of the book is practically incapable of proof in our present state of knowledge, there are certain matters of detail in regard to which it might be worth while to state the traditional point of view.

On page 209 Mr Rice, referring to the repetition of the name of God, says, "It means little to them beyond a name and an ecstasy." This does not seem to us to be a complete presentation of the case. The actual term is "namasmarana," which translated as nearly as possible is "remembering the Name" (of God). Now "remembering," as used in this context, is not merely an intellectual process, but an emotional one also, so that the person "remembering" or meditating upon the Name with all his heart and soul actually loses his identity and in spirit merges himself in the object of his meditation, so much so indeed that he even loses consciousness of the fact that his tongue may actually be uttering the Name. While it may, therefore, be correct to say that "namasmarana" means "a name and an ecstasy," it is so in the sense that remembering and repeating the name of God in the manner prescribed results in bringing about an ecstatic state of mind when the individual spirit is merged in the Infinite.

Page 177 "The next step is to inculcate the path of virtue and right living. The teacher touches the boy's breast with his finger and repeats a prayer which is in effect that the boy may become one with himself." Mr Rice remarks, "There is here more than a hint of primitive practices." We are told "that among certain uncivilized or primitive tribes the

teacher touches the breast of the novice and thereby transmits to him a portion of his own spirit. The practice seems to be more or less connected with what Fraser calls 'the doctrine of the external soul,' which conceives that besides the soul which is part of himself, a man has another soul which can be parted from him and can enter into another envelope, perhaps a bear or a wolf. The whole idea is not unconnected with totemism." It is true that the idea underlying the ceremony of the teacher touching the boy's breast with his finger is that he is supposed to be imparting something of himself to his pupil. This may be reminiscent of totemism. On the other hand it may have no such connection. The traditional explanation is that the teacher was presumed to be possessed of high spiritual power, which it was believed he imparted in some degree to his pupil when he initiated him. Now this power is psychic as well as ethical, and is taken to be inherent in every human being and capable of being developed by proper training. It is possible that the psychic forces may be developed without corresponding ethical development. Such people were the Danavas—e.g., Ravana—but their power could not be called spiritual. It is also believed that a man of highly developed psychic powers can by an act of will, outwardly expressed by a gesture or a hypnotic pass such as placing the finger on the breast of his subject, influence other people not possessed of similar powers. In medical therapeutics it is agreed that it is possible to treat certain diseases by hypnotic influence. On the same analogy it was possible for a man of highly developed psychic power, as the teacher would presumably be, to bring a boy under his personal influence by an act of will, the visible expression of which was the gesture of putting the finger on the breast of the latter. In other words, he gave some of his own strength and power to his pupil and thus in the spiritual sense gave him a part of himself. While, therefore, it may be possible that the particular act mentioned by Mr. Rice may be reminiscent of totemism, there does not seem to be any reason to reject the traditional explanation, which has a rational basis underlying it. It is probably true that the Ancients, whether Aryan Indians, Egyptians, or others, possessed considerable psychic knowledge of which we moderns are only beginning to discern the outline, and what we today consider totemistic and primitive may in reality have had profound psychic significance, as indeed tradition asserts it had and has, if the ceremonies are performed by competent persons in the appropriate manner.

INSIDE INDIA By Halid  Edib (*Allen and Unwin*) 10s 6d net.

(Reviewed by E. ROSENTHAL)

Anyone interested, even if only superficially, in present-day India, would profit by the perusal of this eminently readable book. Halid  Edib, one of the most distinguished Muslim women of her time, depicts with fine impartiality and insight not only the human triangle—British, Hindu and Muslim—but also Hindu-Muslim relations with all their implications. The author has a rare capacity for grasping the other man's viewpoint, and

during her visit to India she was afforded unique opportunities for penetrating beneath the crust, opportunities by which she profited to the full.

Halidé Edib's Indian tour began in Delhi, where, in 1935, she delivered extension lectures at the Jamia-Millia-Islamia, the Muslim University. She has a wonderful gift for lightning sketches of both men and matters. Here is her succinct summary of the Jamia's *raison d'être*:

"The institution has two purposes. First, to train the Muslim youth with definite ideas of their rights and duties as Indian citizens. Second, to co-ordinate Islamic thought and behaviour with Hindu. The general aim is to create a harmonious Hindu nationhood without Muslims losing their Islamic identity. In its aim, if not always in its procedure, it is nearer to Gandhian Movement than any other Islamic institution I have come across."

Her comprehension of Mahatma Gandhi's idealism is remarkable, and she describes with real insight his attempts to abolish Untouchability, to regenerate the village as a unit of Indian society, and to achieve communal unity. She regards him as a practical reformer rather than as a visionary, and ascribes much of the success of his experiments to the permanent spirit of trial which permeates them, to his repeated assertion that there is no finality in his conclusions. Her comparison of the motivations of Gandhi and of Jawaharlal Nehru, the socialist leader, is clean-cut, convincing. While Gandhi bases the art of living on religion or spiritual values, economics constitute the hub of Jawaharlal's concepts. Gandhi "proposes to keep the original pattern of Hinduism with some alterations, but he aims at giving it a new spirit, and working out a new *modus vivendi* to ensure equal rights to all." Nehru, on the other hand, is an iconoclast. He would abolish the old system, root and branch. Yet Jawaharlal would not break with the Mahatma, even if he could, for not only is he sincerely attached to Gandhi, but he realizes that such a break would loosen his hold on the Hindu masses and other groups.

Halidé Edib may arouse controversy when she states that she considers the occult side in India negligible, and when she remarks, "One can safely say that negative mysticism and occultism are on the wane in India." Few will cross swords with her, however, when she condemns those men and women who seek publicity while expressing a desire to live remote from the world, and when she dubs the Indian hermit searching for an audience "a spiritual acrobat."

Treating of the emancipation of women, Halidé Edib likens the respective tempos of *pardah* and modern life to *Largo* and *Prestissimo*. "To dance with one foot to slow music and with the other to quick"—thus she characterizes the obligations of Indian girls who, having advanced along Western lines, are in danger of treading on the mental corns of those mothers who remain entrenched in conservatism.

In the second section of her book Halidé Edib deals with the cities which she visited, in all of which she made it her business to study sociological problems. She holds the attention of the reader from cover to cover, and the skilful picturizations of the prominent personalities with whom she

came in contact reinforce the human interest. One of the first whom she met was Sarojini Naidu, whose chief interest to Halidé Edib "lies not in her importance in the political arena, but in herself." The author is of opinion that Sarojini "would have stood out in any society, under any circumstances. Her sex would never have prevented her from doing what she wanted, or achieving anything wished. In ancient India she would have been a queen. In the India of 1935 she was a member of the Shadow Cabinet."

From Delhi Halidé Edib proceeded to Aligarh, where her first act was to visit the tomb of Sir Saiyid Ahmad, the founder of Aligarh University. She regards a knowledge of his work, and what he stood for, as imperative for comprehension of the Indian Muslims of today, and likens this great thinker to "a huge stone thrown into the hitherto stagnant waters of Islamic Society in India. The waves it set going are still in motion, though not always in the direction he would have chosen."

To the author "Lahore stands between the Frontier and the rest of India, not only geographically, but in mentality as well. It contains both, as well as its own peculiarities of thought." She records various illuminating conversations which she had in Peshawar and noted that "the Frontier was the only place where no one talked of independence and future freedom. Yet each and all gave one the impression of being absolutely free men."

At Lucknow Halidé Edib came in touch with the darker side. She was horrified at the poverty prevailing in the villages under the *Zemindari* (landlord) system, and puts the cogent question, "What sort of India would there have been if the Western rulers had given their energy and applied their science to the benefit of the peasant, instead of heaping it on the middle or ruling classes?"

After visiting Benares and Sarnath, Halidé Edib proceeded to Calcutta. In her chapter on that city she incorporates highly informative notes on the Brahma-Samaj and Arya-Samaj movements, and expresses her admiration for Calcutta University, where she found the double impact of tradition and progress to be very marked.

In her remarks on Hyderabad, Deccan, the writer includes thoughtful appreciations of her host and hostess, the Rt Hon Sir Akbar Hydari, the distinguished Prime Minister, and his no less distinguished wife. After paying tribute to Sir Akbar's "unique cultural synthesis," the writer refers to Lady Hydari's magnificent poise, and to her amazing serenity, which enabled her to listen undisturbed to "any enthusiast of Hinduism or to any depreciation of Islam, and in their midst rise and go to her prayers if it happened to be the time." At the house of Lady Hydari the author met her countrywoman, Princess Durru Shehwar, wife of the heir-apparent. "She happens to be an Ottoman Princess, but she has ceased to be anything but an Indian Princess, so well does she seem to have adapted herself to her environment, and taken to heart the duties that go with her high position, both as a wife and mother and as a woman of an unusually deep culture." Halidé Edib was astounded at the maturity of the Princess, who, although still in her early twenties, possesses the balanced judgment and breadth of vision of a much older woman.

In Bombay Halidé Edib was fortunate enough to attend several functions where the barriers of caste and community were ignored, and on the eve of her departure from India she was entertained at an International Dinner, at which hundreds of men and women of all colours, classes, creeds and races sat and ate together. No one present was more aware than the author of the import of such a gathering in such a land as India.

And so Halidé Edib's tour ended in an inspiring atmosphere of fraternal peace auguring well for the future, and her account of her many-faceted travels inside India should prove popular with a vast and varied public.

CO-OPERATION AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA By Karamullah Khan,
B.A., LL.B. (Hyderabad-Deccan *Farhat Manzih, Somajguda*)

(Reviewed by SIR SELWYN FREMANTLE)

In a paper published in the last number of this magazine Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee pointed out that the population supported by industry (35 millions) is actually less than the increase in the total population of India during the last decennial period (38 millions). Hence it is clear that only a minute proportion of the increase can be absorbed in industry and that a greater burden than ever is thrown on agriculture. And though agricultural production seems to have nearly kept pace with the population, the law of diminishing returns must soon begin to operate, and there will be a tendency to a further decline in the standard of living of the masses.

But that standard must go up instead of down if the people are to be induced to adopt a reasonable attitude towards birth control and the limitation of families without which bounds cannot be set to the increase of population.

And for the raising of the standard of living the development of the agricultural resources of the country is essential.

The writer of this thesis speaks of rural India as steeped in ignorance, superstition, poverty and debt, and though this proposition is not universally true it is broadly applicable to the greater portion of rural India. He sees the necessity for rural reconstruction, a process too long delayed by the absorption of the Indian intelligentsia and of Government itself in politics and by the greater interest shown by the politicians in industrial than in agricultural progress. And he records some of the wholly laudable efforts made for rural uplift in various parts of the country, each with resources insufficient to influence more than a small area. He does not, however, mention the campaigns recently inaugurated by Government itself in some provinces which are designed to attack the problem systematically and completely with the aid of their technical staff, though these activities, as well as other schemes adopted by non-official agency, are excellently described in Mr Strickland's booklets on *Rural Welfare*, issued by the Indian Village Welfare Association.

In accordance with the dictum of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "If co-operation fails, then will fail the best hope of Rural India," the

author's panacea for all ills is Co-operation, and the larger portion of his thesis is taken up with an account of the origin and progress of co-operation in India, of the forms it has taken, and the manner in which it has been organized in various parts of the country. The account is not complete, nor is it always correct. District Co-operative Banks, for instance, do not engage in ordinary banking business, and it was not Provincial Banks which led the way, but the Central Banks constituted one or more for each district, which in time required an apex bank to even out their balances. Nor is there any mention of the Guaranteeing Unions which fill so great a part in the financial organization of several provinces.

What suggestions are put forward to further the rural reconstruction which is admittedly essential? An All-India Enquiry Committee, a permanent Information Bureau, a Research Institute to include in its activities experimental work in regard to the formation of new co-operative institutions. Such things are quite unnecessary. Most provinces, but especially the Punjab and Bombay, have been fortunate in having had the services as Registrars of men who have made careful studies of co-operative methods and institutions the world over. The types of societies suitable to India have been tried out, and the best advice on the subject is available to the Government and to all interested persons. The stage of experiment is past and it is the time for action.

The writer, who rightly laments the decay of the village organization, believes, as I do myself, in the revival of the Panchayat to take care of education, sanitation, water supply, drainage, roads, and the development of agriculture. He calls them co-operative panchayats and connects them up with district and provincial co-operative councils with a national co-operative council at the top to deal with the matters of general policy. The village panchayats are, he says, to be supplied with funds by allotting to them local rates and cesses and by grants and loans from Government, and they are also to receive aid from co-operative societies and central banks out of their profits.

Surely this is confusion of thought. The organization of the village as a unit of Local Government is an essential item in a programme of reconstruction, and the same is the case with co-operation for the supply of credit, the marketing of crops, and for the organization of agriculture generally, but we do not yet live in a co-operative world, and the institutions required for administration and for co-operation cannot be combined. The attempt to amalgamate them could end only in confusion.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES, LORD METCALFE By Edward Thompson, Fellow of
Oriel College, Oxford, former Leverhulme Research Fellow (*Faber and
Faber, Ltd*) 21s

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K C S I)

In 1854 appeared a biography of Charles Metcalfe, who twelve years before had closed a varied and strenuous life after holding the highest offices in

India, Jamaica and Canada. It went through two editions, and was followed in 1855 by a volume of selections from his minutes and correspondence. The author of both books was Sir John Kaye, to whose long labours students of British Indian history are greatly indebted. Here we have a second biography of Metcalfe written without most of the material that was available to Kaye, but with the assistance of fresh papers and after researches in England and India. In his preface the author has explained his position. He has given us a very interesting book.

Born at Calcutta in January, 1785, a month before Warren Hastings ceased to be Governor-General, son of a major in the East India Company's service who came of an old Berkshire family, and while achieving no prominence in India, collected a comfortable fortune there and married a Miss Susan Debonnaire, a lady of considerable character, Charles Metcalfe was taken to England by his parents when an infant and carefully educated, passing from a preparatory school to Eton, where he spent four happy years. He displayed remarkable intellectual promise and was popular with boys and masters. As he wrote later, his "youthful and ardent imagination planned to itself a life of greatness, glory and virtue." But this life was not to be in India, and when his father, who had been elected a Director of the East India Company, procured for the fifteen-year-old boy a nomination to a writership in Bengal, Charles parted with a sad heart from the scenes and friends of his early years. He arrived in Calcutta on January 1, 1801. Mountstuart Elphinstone, his senior by nearly five years, had in February, 1796, gone at once up-country to join the Resident at Benares, but Metcalfe was the first student admitted to Lord Wellesley's new college, where he speedily won distinction and the lasting favour of the Governor-General, whom ever after he regarded with warm gratitude and admiration. Unfortunately, however, he had no taste for the horse or the gun, and considered himself a social failure. Yielding to nostalgia, after six months he wrote to his father begging for permission to return to England. Before the end of 1801 he received from his godfather, Jacob Rider, Collector of Benares, advice to apply for admission to the diplomatic or political line and a caution against the judicial and revenue branch. He took this advice, although in fact preliminary training in the regular line would have fortified him for dealing with the administrative problems which he encountered later on. He was posted to Ujjain, the capital of Daulat Rao Sindia, as assistant to Colonel Collins, the Resident, with whom his relations were unhappy. Before the end of 1802 he was back in Calcutta and one of Lord Wellesley's personal secretaries. At Ujjain he received letters from his parents rejecting his petition to return home. His mother's letter contained the sound advice "Ride on horseback. When intense thinking is joined with want of exercise, the consequences must be bad." She sent him a box of pills "as obviously he must be bilious."

He had been somewhat given to morbid introspection, but now, in Wellesley's school of "honour, zeal and public spirit" (p. 311), he was swept up into the excitement and passion of a crisis.

In 1803 Elphinstone rode beside Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum, and in 1804 Metcalfe joined Lake's camp as political assistant. The final

campaign against Jaswant Rao Halkar had begun. At first slightly esteemed by his new chief, he volunteered to join the storming party at the siege of Dig and was "one of the first in the breach." Mr Thompson observes, I surmise from personal experience "There is no generosity like that of soldiers to a civilian who has wilfully shared their risks, for endurance of danger which to them is a matter of routine they will shower praise on him" Metcalfe became Lake's "little stormer," was afterwards present at the disastrous siege of Bharatpur, took part in galloping chases of Holkar and Amir Khan, and, when barely twenty-one, successfully negotiated peace "He never wrote such letters again, so full of normal human enjoyment and exercise" But in 1806 he informed a friend that he had not acquired "a grain more enterprise on horseback" He would have been happier had he resembled Elphinstone in sporting as well as in scholastic tastes

From August, 1806, to August, 1808, he was assistant to Archibald Seton, Resident at Delhi He was then selected to conduct a mission to the court of Ranjit Singh, and before leaving for the Punjab met Elphinstone for the first time, whom he impressed as "a mild, good-natured, enterprising fellow, able and willing for anything"* The treaty with Ranjit Singh of April 25, 1809, which proved of lasting value, was Metcalfe's work Assisted by that potentate's impressions of the Company's military strength, he had successfully carried through extremely difficult negotiations Chapter VI describes the course of these, and states the case for Ranjit Singh It is particularly interesting From this time dates Metcalfe's union with the mother of his three sons, which lasted for at least eight years Mr Thompson is severe on Kaye for not mentioning the matter, but from the prefaces to both biographies it appears that Kaye's silence was inevitable Boxes of papers had been placed at his disposal by the family, who can have given him no option in this respect, although the youngest son, afterwards Colonel James Metcalfe, c.b., was serving in the Indian army at the time It was very unfortunate that these papers, which had been carefully preserved by Charles Metcalfe himself, were destroyed after his son's death in 1888, for although Kaye made good use of them and Mr Thompson has unearthed fresh materials and more letters, the latter were partly mutilated, and Metcalfe's own papers were clearly the best original authority on his life and work Mr. Thompson holds that Kaye disliked Metcalfe After reading Kaye's book, which was "affectionately dedicated" to one of Metcalfe's most valued friends, I am unable to understand this view

In February, 1811, Metcalfe succeeded Seton as Resident at Delhi, where he remained for eight years, again distinguishing himself as a wise, vigilant and courageous political officer His charge was the British Indian frontier, the people were very turbulent, and the district was criss-crossed with contentious and disorderly Rajput states He longed to see these neighbours under the Company's protection "People," he wrote, "do not scruple to say that they have a right to the protection of the British Government They say that there has always existed some power in India, to which peaceable

* Colebrooke's *Elphinstone*, I, 154

states submitted and in return obtained its protection. The Company are shamelessly neglecting their manifest obligations. Politically and administratively he was embarrassed by the nominal King and his entourage in the Delhi Fort. Within its precincts he had no jurisdiction. And even in the city and outlying territories which stretched from the vicinity of Muttra to the Sutlej,* government was theoretically in the King's name. Capital sentences went to this "attenuated majesty" for confirmation. Metcalfe wisely avoided passing such sentences, partly because they would "open the door to endless intrigue and worry." Mr. Thompson describes the difficulties which he encountered and claims that his achievement was the greatest single administrative work ever put through by a British officer. This assertion is too sweeping. From the Delhi Residency Metcalfe passed to that of Hyderabad, where, in combating and smashing the abominable Palmer ramp, in spite of the Governor-General's discouragement, he showed a fine and resolute spirit. Mr. Thompson writes that this great and fruitful achievement cost him "the final loss of his dreams and his belief in his fellows." This view is perhaps suggested by the letter to his sister quoted on pages 230-1, but on page 239 we read "This triumph over Rumbold and Hastings made Metcalfe again the unquestioned head of the little community, where he wielded the patriarchal authority in which he delighted." We learn, too, that on the eve of his re-transfer to Delhi he recorded his satisfaction in his victory over speculation, corruption and oppression, and his grief over the approaching separation from his "beloved and affectionate friends." His cynicism had evaporated, and the letter quoted on page 314 shows that his keen ambition to be permanent Governor-General remained in full force until all possibility of its fulfilment had passed away.

Mr. Thompson, however, thinks that his Hyderabad experiences and the controversies in England resulting therefrom eventuated in "a lasting wretchedness" (p. 188), and describes him as "lingering on through his last twelve years, always under sentence or half-sentence of removal, with his eyes fixed elsewhere" (p. 256). On page 291 he writes "His days of happiness ended when he gained the Supreme Government. From now on to the end he had nothing left but extreme loneliness and a world that steadily darkened within and without." But from other passages in this book and from Kaye's pictures of Metcalfe's life in Calcutta I draw less melancholy conclusions. Metcalfe's temperament was exceptional. From boyhood onwards he was emotional, susceptible, extremely sensitive, given to introspection and to habits of "intense thinking joined to want of exercise." At Calcutta he was working continuously after many years of service unrelieved by any holidays in England. He had abundant means, but no wife to share his anxieties or relieve him of social duties. Memories of the private side of his life at Delhi saddened him (pp. 114, 179). The future of his sons in England often burdened his mind. With his temperament it was easy to be convinced that all was going wrong. On the other hand he could shake off these gloomy forebodings. He had abounding courage, moral and physical, and in society was cheerful and bright. Whatever he might write, he really

* *Papers and Correspondence* (Kaye), p. 66

enjoyed his popularity, position and responsibilities, the power which he was able to exercise at the centre of affairs. He was not seriously worried by remnants of the struggle at Hyderabad, where his victory had been so notable and fruitful of benefit to his Service* and to the British name in India as well as to the people of the country. He was gratified by the exceptional regard of attached friends which he warmly returned. He was able to accommodate himself to the give-and-take of public life.

"His intellectual roots were in the eighteenth century," but he moved at first with and then generally before his times. At a tender age he had entered on "a scene of shifting empires." He had been bred in the school of Wellesley, and was enthusiastically grateful to his early patron, he had played a prominent part in the final capture of Bharatpur. Yet later on when further enterprises were in the air he condemned the imperious spirit that offered war as the sole alternative to submission and was strongly opposed to any policy of Central Asian or Afghan adventure. He had been censured for extravagance at Delhi by the Directors and ordered to refund a large sum spent on furniture for the Residency, but at Calcutta he became so excessively cautious a guardian of the public finances as to question the benefits to India of railways, telegraphs and roads†. He was always ambitious, and his ambition was largely gratified, for he became first provisional Governor-General, an honour which he prized above a Governorship (p. 308), then a Governor, then acting Governor-General. In that capacity he carried a far-reaching measure which he had much at heart. When relieved by Lord Auckland he was invested with the G.C.B. amid general applause which brought him "great happiness and restfulness of spirit." When, after a short tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, he resigned and embarked for England in February, 1838, he had a magnificent send-off which he warmly appreciated. Bentinck's letter to Lord Melbourne, quoted in full by Kaye (II, 361), gives accurate measure of the value of his services. After a very short spell of retirement he "hankered after" return to an Indian Governorship. But it was not to be. He went elsewhere. When he returned from Canada and was slowly dying of a very painful and lingering disease, he showed himself the same courageous, warm-hearted Metcalfe who had won so many friends. If in later years his happiness had been but wayside campings, his soul had all the time been in the journey.

His two biographers have done his memory good service. Kaye must often have seen him in Calcutta. Mr. Thompson's standpoint is the present day. He has taken great pains, his descriptions of the scenes and surroundings of Metcalfe's early career are admirable and the humorous touches are enjoyable. Then the shades begin to close over Metcalfe, his responsibilities become more harassing, and his biographer's task is harder as he sets himself to deal with a variety of subjects, some of which cannot be adequately discussed in two or three pages or paragraphs. Particularly is this the case with land revenue. No reference is made either by Metcalfe or the author to the Holt Mackenzie minute of 1819, which was the first document to point the way to clear

* See Kaye, II, 203

† Kaye, II, 188-9

understanding of agrarian tenures in North-Western British India, and of the requirements of land revenue administration there. In his views on that subject and in his impatience with his judicial officers at Delhi (p. 124) Metcalfe did not allow sufficiently for the dense confusion still existing in a city and country which had so lately been "a theatre of war and brigandage."* The state of affairs which the British inherited is vigorously and accurately described on pages 67, 117, and 143 of this book. But the residual effects of such conditions and of the administrative systems which obtained in the remoter past are less clearly appreciated. An instructive paper on "The Indian Peasant in History" was read to the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts in March, 1929, by Mr. W. H. Moreland, which illustrates this point. The remarks on the slow beginnings of a definite famine policy (pp. 326-7) seem to me needlessly sardonic. The absence of efficient transport and of roads and railways deserved at least some mention in this connection.† Mr. Thompson's occasional references to subjects of recent controversies come abruptly into a work of this character.

The style is vivid and in passages poetical. The book contains a map and interesting portraits.

TRADE IN THE EASTERN SEAS (1793-1813) By C. N. Parkinson (*Cambridge University Press*) 16s. net

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT)

The title of this interesting work is somewhat misleading. In the period it covers the East India Company had a monopoly of trade from England to the East, but the volume is not so much concerned with its commerce in India, China, etc., as with the shipping of goods and passengers that was an essential part of its operations. Thus the main chapters are devoted to an elaborate survey of the ports to which the Company's ships went, the kinds and quantities of the goods they carried, the routes they followed in the Eastern Seas and the weather conditions governing their navigation, the method of building and equipping East-Indiamen, the "shipping interest" that grew out of the arrangements for providing and manning the Company's fleet, the conditions of its maritime service, and the main facts or interesting details concerning the voyage of an East-Indiaman, including the treatment and behaviour of the passengers and the naval protection given to it in time of war. It thus breaks new ground, for though East-Indiamen have been the subject of previous publications, it can safely be said that none of them treat it with the completeness of scope and research that characterizes this volume. Mr. Parkinson can, therefore, rightly claim that his work is real "maritime history," supplying, as it does, concrete information that enables the reader to visualize the human activities by which the Company brought men and goods to and from the Eastern Seas, and that it will furnish a proper historical and geographical setting for the naval

* Jathar and Beri, *Indian Economics*, I, 49.

† See *C.H.I.*, VI, 296, on this point.

campaign between the English and French in those waters, which he proposes to describe in a second volume

The reader will find much to interest and fascinate him in the book. Thus it brings home the extreme discomforts suffered by passengers of those days in voyages to and from the East, for which they had to pay very big sums, if they were not Company's servants—William Hickey, for instance, paid the equivalent of £1,000 for his return to England in 1808. All furniture for the voyage had to be supplied by the passenger, including a coffin-like cot to sleep on in rough weather. This was suspended from the deck-beams overhead and was useful after a sea had been shipped. Noises (including those of the livestock kept on deck), "stunks," perpetual creaking of bulk-heads, and absence of adequate air and light in most of the cabins were other serious inconveniences.

The first chapter contains a good account of the Company's headquarters, India House, the general character of its directorate, and the way in which the machinery for carrying on its business worked. But some of the disparaging remarks about the Company are apt to give an incautious reader a distorted view of the real facts. Its business was, of course, not purely philanthropic, and its management was tainted with the prevalent corruption of that epoch in English history, but it did strive to obtain industry and integrity from its agents in India, and if it did not succeed in bringing good government to its territories during this period, it at any rate made an improvement that later on developed into this. To say, as Mr Parkinson does (p. 17), that patronage was the chief concern of the Company in its London aspect gives undue weight to one part of its business as against the large amount of financial, commercial, maritime, administrative and judicial work that it had to transact and correspond about with its servants in India. The military and political parts of its affairs were, no doubt, subject to the opinions of the Board of Control, but their consideration and the submission of draft orders about them to the Board necessarily took up its time. A perusal of the Company's Minutes and Letter-Books of this period will suffice to disprove a one-sided statement of this kind. Again, to compare it with a private Company deliberately "paying unnecessarily large salaries and pensions to a crowd of idle officials" (p. 8) ignores the necessity for Clive's reforms in this matter, which successfully stemmed the tide of corruption and led to the high standard of integrity that distinguished the European services in India. The big salaries that are cited as examples on page 34 were mostly fixed by Act of Parliament. Nor were all the Company's servants idle and inefficient: many names and events could be cited to the contrary, and the author himself gives them credit for showing "capacity at times" (p. 21).

It is no doubt the case that after the Company's acquisition of territory in Bengal its finances were sustained more by tribute than by trade, but Mr Parkinson is inclined to overdraw the stress he lays on the Company's export of men and "courage" to India as opposed to the export of goods for sale to natives of India. The latter continued during these twenty years, and the exaggerated assertion (p. 6) that "the Hindoo desired nothing" in the way of goods from England was never true in the extensive sense given

to it. Even woollens, which the climate made it difficult to dispose of—and then generally at cost price or lower—were being exported in considerable quantities (pp 75 and 87), and the Company's motive in doing so was a desire to help British manufactures rather than to make a profit.

This undue depreciation of the Company does not, however, affect the excellence of the main part of the book, which is replete with facts and figures on the subject it deals with. Future students of the history of the Company will owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Parkinson, which would have been enhanced if he had given more detailed references to the authorities for his statements. He has adopted the plan of having a bibliography for each chapter in this he follows the example of the fifth volume of *The Cambridge History of India*, but he has refrained from adopting its addition of occasional footnotes, giving authorities in cases where they cannot otherwise be traced without some difficulty and trouble.

ON THE BOMBAY COAST AND DECCAN THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY DIOCESE By the Rev W Ashley-Brown (S P C K) 8s 6d net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT)

On November 19, 1837, Thomas Carr, then Archdeacon of Bombay, was consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace to be the first Bishop of Bombay, and his diocese is celebrating this centenary. It was a good idea to have this account of the diocese written in connection with the celebration, and the present Archdeacon has done his task with admirable thoroughness. It covers not only the time since 1815, when a Bishop of Calcutta first arrived in India, but deals with the development of the Church of England (now the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon) from its beginnings as a Chaplaincy of the East India Company at Surat. It also includes the field of missionary enterprise in India from the traditional founding of the Syro-Nestorian Church in Southern India by the Apostle Thomas to the present time. Important events contributing either to the hindrance or to the progress of the spread of Christianity in India are embodied. In covering this extensive ground, the author shows that he has made a careful study of the numerous authorities on the subject, and his story is throughout lucid and interesting. The book, which has some good illustrations and a map of the diocese at each end, can be recommended for perusal not only by those specially interested in the Western Presidency, but by others.

DYARCHY IN PRACTICE By Dr A Appadorai, M A., Ph D (Longmans) 9s net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT)

This book supplies a useful compendium of the history, working, and general results of the experiment in government, known as dyarchy, in the Indian Provinces between 1921 and the introduction of the new constitution in the present year. The material for it is abundant and has been well

sifted and arranged. As Professor A. B. Keith says in his foreword, the work shows not merely great industry, but also soundness of judgment and discrimination between essentials and minor details.

Dr. Appadorai has well brought out the defects of dyarchy in practice. He rightly observes (pp 162, 164, 376) that incomplete self-government of this kind is the most difficult form of government, and attention was fixed more on hastening its end than on exploring its full responsibilities. Nor does he consider that it succeeded as a training in responsibility (pp 365-73). It is, he says on p 376, "a trite remark that where it succeeded it succeeded only because the principle of dyarchy was largely ignored." But he credits it with some good results and (p 372) anticipates its adoption as an experiment in the Indian States.

The reader will probably agree with Professor Keith that the author's judgment in discussing the questions arising are sober and well balanced. On the other hand, he has not perhaps given sufficient weight to the fact that the scheme never had a fair trial owing to various circumstances, particularly the racial bitterness engendered by the Punjab disturbances of 1919 and the post-war financial stringency. Dyarchy has undoubtedly been a useful prelude to the grant of full responsibility to Indian ministers, and, with the guidance of their Presidents, the Legislative Councils established under it have spread effective knowledge of proper parliamentary procedure.

OUR CAUSE Edited by Shyam Kumari Nehru (Allahabad *Kstabistan*)
Rs 6

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHEROOR WILLIAMS)

This book is a portent, and as such is to be treated with all respect. Ten years ago it would have been unthinkable, now it seems quite normal, and we even wonder why it has not been done before. Here are some thirty Indian ladies—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, and Christian—contributing to a symposium which sets forth the cause of women in India. In groups of two and three they deal with the Home (including House Decoration and Furnishing), Health (Hygiene, Child Welfare, the Indian Mother), Education, Arts (Woman as Artist and Indian Dancing), Industry (Women in Industry, Women and the Films), Rural Life (Our Village and Rural Reconstruction), Social Evils (Purdah, Seclusion of Women), Marriage and Divorce (Legal Forms of Marriage, Early Marriage, the Hindu Widow, Divorce in India), Legal Rights (Women and Property, Hindu Woman's Struggle, Political Struggle (Women and the Political Struggle, Women's Suffrage in India, Women under the New Constitution). These essays are prefaced by a Retrospect dealing with the position of Hindu and of Muslim women in the past, and are concluded with a survey of the future.

As might be expected, the contributions are somewhat unequal in value, though all are worth reading. The legal sections tend to repetition; but though elsewhere the same ground is covered more than once, it is generally approached from differing angles. On the whole, the editor must be con-

gratulated upon having performed her task with competence. There are a few contradictions, notably between pages 212 and 256, but these are of little importance except to the scholar, there are very few misprints, though one of these ("Anti-natal" for "Ante-natal") is quite peculiarly *mal-à-propos*.

The contributors seem to belong mainly to Northern India, Bombay, Bengal, and Maharashtra. The Frontier and Madras, with problems of their own, seem imperfectly represented. Also we miss contributions from such notable figures as Mrs. Naidu and Begam Sham Nawaz. Can this be because controversial politics are deliberately omitted? For indeed a dignified, almost Olympian, serenity pervades even the most clamant sections—a most interesting and instructive contrast with feminist literature in the West.

NEAR EAST

YEMEN ET SAOUDIA Par General Edouard Brémond (Paris Charles-Lavauzelle)

(Reviewed by KENNETH WILLIAMS)

The late T. E. Lawrence has had his detractors in this country, but no one, I think, has so trenchantly sought to "de-bunk" the formal "Revolt in the Desert" as has General Brémond, who was the head of the French Military Mission in Arabia during the Great War. In a footnote in this little book he dismisses the Revolt as consisting "à payer pour détruire la voie ferrée du Hedjaz les tribus que les Turcs payaient pour la garder." Of Arab problems, therefore, General Brémond takes a realist, as distinct from a romantic, view.

But this is no profound book. The author is largely concerned with tracing the past, and especially the recent history of relations between the Hijaz, now part of the vast kingdom known as Saudi Arabia, and the south-west corner of the Peninsula, known as the Yemen. There is in his account little that is new to the student, though it may well be useful to those who approach the matter for the first time.

Certain bees buzz noisily, moreover, in the General's bonnet. The British Intelligence Service in Arabia is to him something stupendous. He appears to be convinced, for instance, that Mr. St. John Philby is still a member of it, and that Ibn Saud ever has this Muslim Englishman at his elbow with ready advice. The truth is far different, and is exemplified, if exemplification were necessary, by the fact that when Mr. Philby supports the principle of Partition in Palestine, Ibn Saud's Minister in London has to publish a denial of the assumption that the Englishman has any official status in Saudi Arabia!

Much of the later chapters in the book repose on newspaper cuttings which have unequal value. It will be news to most observers of Arab politics that the ambitions of Nippon in the Peninsula have to be taken into serious account, and an equally novel point of view is expressed in the opinion that Hans Hellfritz, the brave but ill-equipped German traveller, who was the first European traveller to reach Shabwa, owed his good

reception to the efforts of Germans in Arabia during the war. Actually, Hellfritz barely escaped with his life, and, having labelled the Hadhramaut by asserting that it harboured cannibals, is unlikely to return to South-Western Arabia!

On balance, General Brémont prefers the chances of the settled Yemen to those of the nomadic Saoudi Arabia. He predicates the disintegration of the latter country.

LA RÉVOLTE DROUZE ET L'INSURRECTION DE DAMAS, 1925-1926 By General Andréa (Paris Payot) 25 fr

(Reviewed by KENNETH WILLIAMS)

Here is a soldier's account of the bloody revolt against the French mandatory authorities in Syria which broke out in the Jebel Druze in 1925 and subsequently shook the whole of Syria to its foundations. To the English reader who has met both Frenchmen and Nationalist Arabs in Syria it is always a matter of wonderment that, whereas the French are nearly always convinced that, but for the connivance of the British and Arab authorities in the neighbouring mandated territory of Transjordan, the revolution could easily and quickly have been stamped out, the Druses and Arabs are convinced that, but for the hostile attitude of those same authorities, the revolt would have been successful! General Andréa, writing from a somewhat narrow point of view, subscribes wholeheartedly to the former thesis.

The actual course of military operations, alike in the tortured mountain country of the Druses and in the flatter ground of Syria proper, particularly in the gardens around Damascus, is vividly traced, and the formidable obstacles which the mandatory authorities had to overcome are clearly and convincingly set out. The purely military part of the narrative, indeed, illustrated by several useful maps, is admirably done, and the author deserves the thanks of students to whom this important rebellion of a decade ago may be forgotten history.

But the reader is not likely to obtain from this direct narrative a very detailed idea of the causes of the revolt. He will find little, for instance, of the shortcomings of the French High Commissioner, General Sarrail, nor will he think that the appointment of Captain Carbillet as Governor of the Jebel Druze was aught but a brilliant idea. Of the intense unpopularity of these two men he will have, unless he has had access to other sources of information, scant notion. On the contrary, he will imagine that the whole rebellion was staged with the backing of external forces (*i.e.*, perfidious Albion), by treacherous and ambitious *shaikhs* who merely wanted to consolidate and preserve their feudal privileges. This is not the correct picture. The revolt primarily was due to French maladministration.

This is by no means to deny that the peoples under French charge in Syria have been extremely difficult to govern. It was, in fact, fortunate for Great Britain that that charge did not fall to her. The French may occasionally have been misguided in Syria, but their heroism and their tenacity are qualities which their European neighbours in mandated territories would be the first to admit.

FAR EAST

HONG KONG, 1841-1862 By Geoffrey Robley Sayer (*Oxford University Press*)

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM SHENTON)

Today the Far East takes a permanent place in the news of the world and the public thought, consequently Mr Sayer has published his book *Hong Kong, 1841-1862*, at an opportune time

Although the work is entirely historical and only deals with the early years, it brings out in clear perspective the early struggles of the British to participate in the China trade. It also portrays in no uncertain manner the great importance of Hong Kong as a Colony and a centre from which the inward and outward trade of China conveniently radiates. It reflects undeniably the security the island provides, which is periodically so badly needed.

Dr Eithal, writing in 1895 in the preface of his book, *The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882*, stated "I entreat for a reconsideration of the popularly accepted view, that but little importance, beyond that of a curio, attaches to Hong Kong its community and position, or indeed to European relations with China."

Mr Sayer might echo these sentiments with much greater force today. Mr Sayer is in a peculiarly fortunate position, he is a classical scholar of no mean order, a Hong Kong Government cadet, and at present the Director of Education in that Colony. He is by nature a research student and has had access to archives not usually available to the ordinary individual.

When perusing the book one is led to ask oneself whether China and life in that part of the world has changed so very much during the past hundred years—there is the same opposition from China to outside influences, a similar exterior pressure to participate in, and possibly monopolize, the advantages of the China trade, leading ultimately to war, and one wonders whether history will assist the prophets in foretelling the future upon lines similar to that of the past.

On page 100 we get what amounts to almost original research, because the hauling down of the flag and the transfer of the bazaar to another island has nowhere been chronicled, and it does emphasize the slender thread on which the future of the now prosperous Colony at one time hung.

On page 105 and the following pages there are interesting extracts from the Canton Press, ridiculing the choice of Hong Kong, and it must have required great courage on Captain Elliot's part to continue with his project.

From time to time Mr Sayer gives us a peep into the official mind, and he brings out in clear relief the periodical antagonisms between the governing and the governed.

To those who are interested in the Far East, and Hong Kong in particular, Mr Sayer has produced a very useful work, which will appeal to the historian, the research student, and the general reading public. It is to be hoped that this effort of his will be followed by a history of more recent years along similar lines, in regard to which the literary world is

signally badly served. The fast approaching centenary of the British occupation of the Colony might be a fitting occasion for a further publication

JAPANESE MUSIC

(Reviewed by DR. A. A. BAKÉ)

The booklet on Japanese music, edited by the Japanese Board of Tourist Industry as No. 15 of their series of pamphlets relating to Japanese culture, certainly indicates the broadness of view with which this body tackles its task. If the other volumes are as illuminating as the number under review, the whole series must give a delightful introduction to Japanese culture at its best.

Mr. Katsumi Sunaga, the author, has the gift of imparting useful information in a very concise form, and the picture he draws of Japanese music in our day, the conflict between the traditions of old and the recently imported Western forms of music, makes interesting reading. Let us hope that the West and its methods—ill-adapted—will not succeed in killing Japanese music as it has apparently done with the old Japanese ideals in some other spheres. For the history of the music of Japan before the Western influence makes a fascinating study. Very important is the fact recorded in the introduction and in the account of the “gagaku,” or music at the Imperial Court—namely, that forms of ritual singing and dancing that were introduced from India via China have survived in their adopted country where they have disappeared in their country of origin. This statement agrees with what the late French scholar, Professor Sylvain Lévi, noticed with regard to dance-postures. With the growth of interest in the spread of Indian culture to the Far East it would be of the greatest importance to have further investigation and faithful records of these survivals in music and dance, which may give much enlightenment. It is a well-known phenomenon that cultural treasures have a habit of surviving along the borders of their original domain. Naturally the influence of China, Korea, and Manchuria is discernible in Japanese music just as in the rest of Japanese culture. The intermingling of these different elements and their gradual absorption by the genius of the country, and the development of popular and art music, must make a most interesting study, and one well worth-while for its musical value alone, for it appears from Mr. Katsumi Sunaga's account that the Japanese are a musical nation, having music in their homes and in their public and religious life on all occasions.

It is to be hoped that the wave of nationalism and imperialism now sweeping over Japan may recede soon, so that the people will have the leisure and opportunity again to devote their minds to matters of cultural importance before it is too late. For the danger is imminent that the changes in musical development will be so sweeping that the original is altogether lost. One shudders to think of what may be the result when Japanese music becomes, in the words of the author, “for the most part in musical form of a general Western character. At the same time it will still preserve those traditional delicate qualities which so appeal to the sensi-

bilities of the Japanese people. This new music in its form will have an international character. This will make it easy to be understood by Westerners."

May these days still be very far off

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE JAVA BANK AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1936-37, being the One Hundred and Ninth Financial Year of the Company (English Version G. Kolff and Co., Batavia-C, 1937)

(Reviewed by P. K. WATTAL)

The "Annual Report of the President of the Java Bank" is a document of great importance and is read with great interest by students of economic and financial policy, apart from those interested in the economic position of the Netherlands East Indies and more particularly with the financial position of the Java Bank.

The Report under review sounds a definitely more optimistic note than in previous years regarding international economic conditions. There has been, owing to various reasons, a rise in prices and expansion of international trade during the year under review, so much so that some people are apt to ascribe it to purely temporary causes, such as rearmament, and look with scepticism upon its continuance. The President is not of this opinion, as he holds that this rise in prices is not brought about by currency manipulation, and is due to the normal operation of demand and supply, which is likely to be more or less permanent. He, however, states that there are one or two danger signs in the monetary situation—namely, the enormous quantities of short-term money, which have still failed to find a resting-place, and in the attendant continuous accumulation of gold in a limited number of countries. To persons interested in Indian economic and Indian currency questions, there is a special significance in the view that regulation of price-levels by monetary policy is impracticable. We have had for so many years the rupee-ratio controversy, and quite recently Lord Linlithgow had to tell the Punjab Chamber of Commerce that he was not in favour of lowering the sterling value of the rupee.

The economic position of the Netherlands Indies is very lucidly explained in the Report, and it is very gratifying to note that the year under review witnessed an increase in the world demand for Netherlands Indian products and there was an appreciable rise in the prices of raw materials and agricultural products in the country. This is reflected in the increase in the export and import trade. The export surplus, which from 1934 to 1935 declined from f 240 millions to f 221 millions, rose during the past year to no less than f 326 millions. Holland was at one time as great a believer in Free Trade as Great Britain. There was no Imperial preference and the policy of the Open Door was actively pursued. But latterly this policy has been abandoned and Holland now enjoys a considerable degree of preference in the Netherlands Indies market. This is reflected in the

pre-eminence which Holland enjoys in the imports into the country. The share of Holland in the import trade of the East Indies has been increasing from year to year, while that of Great Britain is steadily on the decline.

In the portion dealing with the finances of the Government of the East Indies, the President states that though the year 1936 did not witness a balanced budget the situation nevertheless improved to such an extent that the deficit for that year was for the first time considerably lower than the amount appropriated for debt redemption. The deficit on ordinary services declined from f 33.3 millions in 1935 to f 19.2 millions in 1936, and that on the total budget from f 22.6 millions to f 8 millions.

Coming now to the financial results of the Java Bank, it is equally a matter of gratification that the one hundred and ninth financial year was more satisfactory than the preceding year. In spite of a slight decrease in the total of advances and a decline in interest rates the net profits for 1936-37 were higher than for the previous two years, and the Board was able to declare a dividend of 10½ per cent for the year, as against 9½ per cent. for 1935-36 and 8 per cent. for 1934-35.

The Report discloses a highly satisfactory condition of affairs on which the Board of Directors deserve to be warmly congratulated.

GENERAL

CIVITAS DEI By LIONEL CURTIS (*Macmillan*) Volume Two (12s 6d)
Volume Three (5s)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS)

The first volume of *Civitas Dei*, published last year, was, as Mr. Curtis explains, intended to be complete in itself. It represented an attempt to discover and to expound "a guiding principle in public affairs." This principle, broadly stated, is that each man has an infinite obligation to his neighbour, and that the institutions which direct public affairs are good in proportion as they encourage, and give scope for, the operation of this principle, which itself depends upon men's recognition of the infinite difference between right and wrong. In the pre-Christian era, two peoples in particular firmly seized separate aspects of this fundamental truth. The Jews had reached the conclusion that behind the visible universe there existed a creative spirit of infinite goodness, in the execution of whose will mankind could alone find its highest destiny. The Greeks discovered that the real "end" of mankind could be achieved through political forms which enabled the relations of man with man to be regulated in accordance with the same sense of morality. In the teachings of Christ, these two separate aspects appear for the first time as parts of one indivisible truth—namely, that to serve God men must first serve one another.

At first sight, this might appear one of those obvious axioms which everyone can accept as having comparatively little practical bearing on politics.

But Mr Curtis is as he describes himself, a journeyman of public affairs and he soon convinces his readers that what appears a principle of ethics is in reality a fundamental—indeed in some respects almost an explosive—maxim of statecraft. For the infinite duty of each to all serves as a touchstone by which every human institution may be judged according as it serves to promote, or to thwart, the operation of the principle. On the long view—and it is with the long view that Mr Curtis is alone concerned—this criterion settles, in the same unhesitating manner the relative merits of the *ryotwari* and the *zamindari* systems of land-tenure in India, and of the democratic and the totalitarian systems of government in Europe. In fact, there is no problem of human life to which it cannot be applied from the conduct of the conscientious objector in time of war to the attitude of the good citizen towards the League of Nations. Indeed—although Mr Curtis does not make this point quite in these terms—it would scarcely be over fanciful to trace the majority of the ills from which mankind has suffered so long to the fatal tendency which organized religions of all sects have rather promoted than discouraged to limit the application of the principle to the private conscience, instead of extending it to the public relations of humanity. From this point of view Aristotle by deliberately separating ethics from politics, commenced the traditional divorce of public from private morality of which Machiavelli did no more than register the practical results.

Having established his principle by arguments which may be attacked in detail but which seem cumulatively unassailable, Mr Curtis proceeds in his second volume to survey the origin and growth of the world situation as we see it today. It is perhaps a matter for regret that his conclusions though no doubt accurate led him to stress the pioneer place held by mediæval England in the application of the guiding principle to affairs on a national scale for the apparent tinge of insularity thus lent to an investigation of worldwide significance may make it harder for foreigners to grasp the full range of his thought. But in regard to his second volume no such criticism is possible for he surveys the world from China to Peru. His design is to establish the facts of public life to which he purposes to apply his governing principle and in order to do this he must show how these facts have grown to be what they are.

It is a herculean task and by undertaking it with fearless courage Mr Curtis has exposed himself to the attack of every historical specialist, every political propagandist, every religious controversialist, who cannot rise to the level of his own almost uncanny detachment. There is scarcely a page which does not contain material for a dozen bitter quarrels between real or self-styled experts. Many readers of the *Asiatic Review* will find themselves at variance with Mr Curtis in his exposition of Far Eastern politics. To those of us who have specialized in Indian affairs it may well seem that he has failed to evaluate the true fundamental of the 1919 Reforms, which was decentralization and not diarchy. To all—and they are many—who believe that the voice of authority whether religious or political enables men to dispense with the duty of hard thinking as a prelude to rightly acting Mr Curtis will seem a subversive dreamer. Those who

have axes of any description to grind those who pride themselves on taking a practical view those who expound the creeds of Things as They Are or of Things as They Ought To Be will find him as irritating as a tomtom in a sleepless Indian night. But like the tomtom, he will be heard willy nilly by all who are not deaf

What are the conclusions to which his long survey leads him? He finds that by the end of the nineteenth century science had forced government to invade every department of human life so that the state had become of greater importance to every citizen with an almost unlimited claim upon his devotion Nationalism became a creed Why was this tendency developed and even exaggerated after the war to end war? Because between these national governments there is nothing but anarchy The infinite duty of each to all operative as perhaps never before within the boundaries of certain nations cannot overstep international frontiers Hence the breakdown of collective security and the disappointing futility of many hopes erected upon the League of Nations

In his third and last volume, which is quite short, Mr Curtis brings all his threads together As Aristotle assumed that the Greek city state was the last word in political development so is the same assumption now made in the case of the national unit In Mr Curtis's view civilization will crash to chaos, unless it succeeds in freeing itself from the superstition that the guiding principle must stop short of application to international affairs It is this superstition that must be broken down and the only way to do it is for certain states which have carried the principle of the national commonwealth to its furthest extension to create a federal government for the purpose of regulating their relations to each other and to the rest of the world He believes that a start might be made between Great Britain on the one side, and Australia and New Zealand on the other The obstacles to such a commencement, as he clearly realizes are rather intellectual than physical As such they can be overcome, granted the necessary conviction How is this to be obtained? First, by so clarifying the position of the Dominions that they become in truth national commonwealths with full and absolute control over the issues of peace and war When once the satellite mentality has thus been overcome Mr Curtis believes that there would be the possibility of an orientation in the direction where true salvation lies But the real change in minds of men which such an extension of the guiding principle postulates can only happen he thinks, when the Churches come to regard the creation of the world-commonwealth as an all important aspect of their work in realizing the Kingdom of God The Churches have mobilized much support for the League of Nations but they have not yet realized that to build the League of the idealists upon nations imbued with the conception of unfettered national sovereignty is to base it upon crumbling sand Further they have yet to realize that the structure of the State itself is a matter of the liveliest concern, since this is the main factor in moulding the minds of men Can they break sufficiently with authoritarian tradition to apply fearlessly the guiding principle emerging from the words of Christ?

The future of the world may well hang upon the answer to this question

Mr Curtis has written a notable book. Its principles if adopted by the rising generation, may well atone for the failure of us who are older

PAUL CAMBON AMBASSADEUR DE FRANCE (1843 1924) Par Un Diplomate
(Paris Librairie Plon)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHERBROOK WILLIAMS)

The diplomatic career of Paul Cambon witnessed many changes in the orientation of the Great Powers and it is remarkable to observe in how many of these changes he was called upon to play a leading part. After an apprenticeship in the Administrative Service which stood him in good stead he was called upon to undertake the organization of Tunis. The ability with which he converted a somewhat vague Protectorate into a French dominion, served to confirm the opinion already formed of his capacities and he was called upon to represent his country in turn at Madrid Constantinople, and London.

Paul Cambon was an outstanding type of the diplomat of the old school. Intensely patriotic, tenacious of the claims of his country and a formidable negotiator, he was none the less possessed of a clear sense of realities. His mind was by nature just, and he could grasp intuitively the importance of fair play. It may be doubted whether in the course of a long career much of which was spent in the *tric-trac* inseparable from the old diplomacy, he ever stooped to a manoeuvre which could not sustain scrutiny. At the same time it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his methods were somewhat over-stereotyped. To him, diplomacy was from first to last the art of dealing successfully with other *diplomates de carrière* rather than the art of adjusting differences between national outlooks and it was this defect which nearly caused the ruin of his greatest achievement, the *Entente Cordiale*. For Paul Cambon it sufficed to know that he had reached a *tafit* agreement with the leaders of successive British Ministries as to the course of action that England would pursue if France were involved in hostilities with Germany. To the very last he failed to recognize that no Ministry in Britain, whatever its political complexion, could involve the country in war without the support of public opinion. The agonizing hours which he spent in the early days of August, 1914, could have been avoided if he had realized and provided for the fact that in Britain public opinion is all powerful on any critical issue. When the work of his life was hanging in the balance the only forces which he could rally to his side were those of the leaders of the Conservative Opposition and it is plain that they were wholly insufficient for his purpose. He—and his country—were in fact saved at the last moment by a circumstance over which he had no control and for which he could claim no credit, namely Germany's miscalculation of the effect on British opinion of the violation of Belgian neutrality. While he is entitled to the deep gratitude of both countries for the manner in which he laboured to remove the causes of the conflicts which in so many parts of the world

were a hindrance to Franco-British understanding, the triumphant culmination of his designs was in a manner adventitious. The lesson of his experience is plain even today. Arrangements between British Governments and foreign Powers though working smoothly enough in ordinary times, may easily break down under the strain of the very crises they are designed to contemplate, unless they are understood, and fully sanctioned, by an instructed public opinion.

This biography deserves the highest praise. Brilliantly written, it is a faithful likeness of one of France's greatest public servants of the last generation. The sureness of delineation argues in the author who discreetly cloaks his identity in an appropriate pseudonym an intimacy characteristic of lifelong friendship if not of actual family connection.

FICTION

AS A MAN & HAND By D. H. Southgate (Methuen) 7s 6d net

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS)

In the beginning of this book the twin gods of Ignorance and Superstition reigned in the Brahman household, where Latchmi the daughter spent her too few years of childhood. However a certain measure of happiness was hers in the family ties which bound them together. Even her marriage at the age of seven to a priest so many years her senior failed to arouse any foreboding. It was not until she was twelve years old and the time came for her to join her husband's household that tradition really claimed her as a victim. Then the tyranny of her mother-in-law and days filled with domestic duties and ceremonial rites caused a curbing of independence of mind and a deadening of will.

The birth of her son Krishna after many years, brought again something of her childhood's joy. But he was a rebel ever questioning customs and codes, and after the death of his father he renounced Brahmanism and became a Christian. Cast out of his family he went away to build up a new life elsewhere in service to his country.

From this point the author shows the ideal of a new India freed from both the bondage of caste and the subjection of women. The strength of this novel lies in the simplicity with which its theme is developed, and to those who may be unaware of the great social changes taking place in the hitherto unchanging East it should come as a revelation.

KASHF AL-MAHJÚB

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